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THE

LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

THE

LIFE, TRAVELS,

AND

CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES

IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY,

OF

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

New Edition.

LONDON:

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE following sheets exhibit to thy perusal a plain man's plain and undisguised account of his own progress in religion: an artless narrative of his sincere and hearty endeavours, as much as in him lay, to promote the doctrine of the gospel of Christ in the earth.

The motives inducing him to undertake the office of a preacher, appear to have been perfectly consonant to the precepts of Holy Writ, and to the practice of Christ and his apostles, viz.

1st,—A clear, cogent, and convincing evidence of a divine call, and heavenly impulse thereunto.

2ndly.—An indispensable sense of his duty necessarily obliging him to yield obedience to that call. And

3rdly.—The sweet returns of inward peace and divine consolations accompanying his obedience therein, did greatly induce to his confirmation and perseverance in the way of his duty.

For the performance of this duty he found himself measurably prepared and qualified; for his own experience of the love of God, and of the operations of his Holy Spirit, in gradually purging out the corruptions of his own heart, did excite and augment in him a Christian love to his fellow-creatures, attended with an ardency of zeal, and an incessant desire for their conversion.

An inward purgation from sin is so necessary and so essential a qualification of a gospel minister, that no man can be such without it; nor doth God send any unclean messengers on his errands.

It being the constant method of his divine wisdom, under this gospel dispensation, through the purging of his Holy Spirit, to cleanse and purify the inside of every vessel, which he permits to be made use of in the service of his sanctuary. Wherefore, every unsanctified pretender to preach the gospel of Christ

deserves to have his mouth stopped with that unanswerable query of our blessed Saviour to the Pharisees of old, "O generation of vipers, how can ye, being evil, speak good things? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh."—Mat. xii, 34.

A practice of this nature abounds with the grossest of absurdities, and stands emphatically exploded, even in the time of the Mosaic law, by the royal Psalmist, in these words, "Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth?"—Psalm l, 16.

But alas! self interest prompts men to turn a deaf ear even to the most divine expostulations, and unholy persons will, in despite of the most express prohibitions, continue to intrude themselves beyond their bounds; and will be still busying and employing themselves about external circumstances and ceremonies, while the life, spirit, and substance of true religion, is placed above their reach, and unattainable by them, until it shall please God, in the

exceeding riches of his grace, to cleanse their hearts from all unrighteousness; of which conversion we heartily wish for a nearer prospect than we can discern at present.

We now return to the author of the ensuing narrative, who was another sort of preacher; a free giver of what himself had freely received, a liberal and open-hearted communicator of his religious experiences unto all other men, without respect of persons.

He directed all the sheep of Christ to follow the voice of Christ himself, the Good Shepherd, whose omnipresence renders his voice audible to every one of his sheep, however separate or dispersed throughout the world.

His conversation was free, generous, and affable; neither did he shun the society of those whom he was sent to convert; his mission being somewhat correspondent to that of his Lord and Master, who declared concerning himself: "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance."—Mat. ix, 13.

He was of a grave deportment, and of a tall, comely, and manly aspect: his public preaching was attended with such a divine authority and majestic innocence, as commanded the attention of his hearers; and his voice being clear, strong, and distinct, was capable of conveying his profitable exhortations to to the ears and understandings of a very numerous auditory; of which a remarkable instance appears in his preaching at Jedburgh in Scotland, mentioned in the following pages.

His literary accomplishments were but small, extending little farther than to enable him to read the Scriptures in his mother tongue; yet by constant use and application, he became thoroughly versed therein, and enabled by the force of their testimony, to confront and confute the gainsayers of his doctrine, which was, in all points, strictly agreeable to, and consonant therewith.

In the Religious Society to which he was joined, he conducted himself as a man of peace and prudence, choosing to walk in the plain and middle path, without declining to any extreme; so that he neither idolized forms, nor contemned good order.

His estimation and repute among his friends and neighbours, may appear by the testimony of the monthly and quarterly meetings of Bridport in Dorsetshire, to which he belonged, given forth since his decease, wherein they say, that "It pleased the Lord to endue him with a large gift in the ministry, in which he was a faithful labourer, and gave himself up for that service; that he had a gift of utterance superior to many, sound in judgment and doctrine, and very convincing to the understandings of those that heard him."

This testimony concerning him is true, and a man of his penetration and capacity could not but discern his own improvement in the gift he had received: wherefore he stood upon his guard, lest through self-love and conceit, he should depart from that humility which is the ornament of every gospel minister. This Christian virtue was generally his concomitant, during the couse of his pilgrimage; and is remarkable in the composing of this account, in keeping it clear from, and unsullied with, any the least tincture or symptoms of self applause.

As in preaching, his declarations proceeded from his heart, so in writing, his relations of his services, and his exhortations, sprang from the same fountain. Wherefore we recommend to thy serious consideration what he has written, as comprehended in that excellent description of a good man, given by Christ himself: "A good man, out of the good treasure of his heart, bringeth forth that which is good."—Luke vi, 45.

May the good brought forth out of this good man's heart, effectually reach unto thine, and through the divine blessing operate to thy spiritual benefit, growth and improvement in that which is good. So shall the design of the deceased author, in leaving behind him this account of his life and travels, be in some degree answered, and the prefixer of this preface shall have the end he aims at, who, with sincere desires for the saving health and welfare of thee and all mankind, takes his leave, and bids thee heartily farewell.

J. BESSE.

TESTIMONY

OF THE

MONTHLY MEETING OF FRIENDS,

HELD AT BRIDPORT THE 24TH OF THE THIRD MONTH, 1754,

CONCERNING

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

It pleased the Lord to endue him with a large gift in the ministry, even in his youth, in which he was a faithful labourer, and gave himself up for that service, travelling much in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, and was twice in America. He had a gift of utterance superior to many, sound in judgment and doctrine, and very convincing to the understandings of those that heard him, for which cause his testimony was affecting to many that do not make profession with us.

Of late, since age and infirmities grew on him, he spent his time more at home, visiting our neighbouring meetings, in which he laboured with great fervency and zeal for the promotion of truth, and that those

who make a profession of it, may come up in faithfulness, and not sit down contenting themselves with a bare profession, short of that divine life, which every member of the church of Christ must witness.

His removal is a great loss, but as it was the will of the Lord, we doubt not but it is his everlasting gain; wherefore we dare not repine for the loss of his outward company, but rest satisfied in the will of God, giving thanks to him who has blessed us, in the enjoyment of his service of love, being still partakers of the blessed effects thereof, and hope the Lord of heaven and earth will be pleased to raise many others to stand up in the places of such faithful labourers in his vineyard.

Signed in, and on behalf of the said meeting, by—

JOSEPH CURTIS. THOMAS WESTCOMBE.
WILLIAM KENWAY, JOSEPH HUTCHINS.
ROBERT CURTIS.

At our QUARTERLY MEETING, held at Bridport, the 27th of third month, 1754, the above Testimony was read, approved, and signed, in and on behalf of the said meeting, by us —

ROBERT CURTIS. JOHN HARMAN.
WILLIAM HERBERT. WILLIAM KENWAY,
WILLIAM RAWES, JUN. WILLIAM HOWARD.
JOSEPH HUTCHINS. JOSEPH CURTIS.
BENJAMIN JACOB. THOMAS WESTCOMBE.
ROBERT KING.

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AN ACCOUNT

OF

THE LIFE AND TRAVELS

OF

SAMUEL BOWNAS.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE.—VISITATION OF DIVINE LOVE.—HIS FIRST APPEARANCE IN THE MINISTRY.—FIRST VISIT INTO SCOTLAND AND VARIOUS PARTS OF ENGLAND.—DISPUTES WITH A PRIEST ON INFANT BAPTISM.

I WAS born at Shap, in Westmoreland, within the compass of Great Strickland monthly-meeting, on the 20th of the 11th month, 1676, and was entered in that register. My father dying before I was one month old, I never knew him, but I have been informed that he was very honest and zealous for truth in his time, having been a considerable sufferer for the cause of religion, in the loss of both goods and liberty; as the meeting was kept at his house during part of the hottest time of persecution, in the reign of Charles the Second.

Being thus left fatherless so young, and my mother having but a scanty subsistence of about four pounds ten shillings a year, with a dwelling for herself and two children, I was put at the age of thirteen to learn the trade of a blacksmith, with an uncle who used me unkindly; but I was afterwards apprenticed to a very honest Friend belonging to Brigflats meeting, near Sedberg in Yorkshire, whose name was Samuel Parat.

All this time I had no taste of religion, but devoted myself to pleasure, as much as my circumstances would permit; though my mother had kept me very strict while I was under her care, and would frequently in winter evenings take opportunities to tell me sundry passages of my dear father's sufferings; admonishing me so to live, that I might be worthy to bear the name of the son of so good a man, and not bring reproach on myself and parents. She also frequently put me in mind, that if she should be taken away, I should greatly miss her, both for counsel and in other respects; advising me to fear the Lord now in my youth, that I might be favoured with his blessing. This frequently brought me into great tenderness, being afraid that she would die before I was capable to live in the world; she also took me to meetings with her, where she often had some words in testimony.

Persecution being still very hot, and Friends locked out of our meeting-house at Strickland, we met at

the door. I remember at two several times when I was a child, and went to meeting with my mother, that the informers came; the first time the meeting had been over about half an hour, the second time not quite so much, so that we escaped their hands both times; but sundry Friends were in prison at Appleby for attending that meeting, whom my dear mother went to visit, taking me along with her, and we had a meeting with the prisoners, several Friends from other places being likewise there by appointment. What I observed, though very young, was how tender and broken they were; and I was very inquisitive of my mother, why they cried so much, (which we called greeting) "and thee greet too," (said I) "why did thee?" She told me that I could not understand the reason of it then, but when I grew up more to man's estate I might.

Now to return to my apprenticeship,—I had a very kind loving master and mistress, and had meat enough and work enough, but had little consideration about religion, nor any taste thereof. On first-days I frequented meetings, but the greater part of the time I slept, and took no account of preaching, nor received any other benefit, than that the being there kept me out of bad company, which indeed is a very great service to youth. I also took much liberty in discourse, and was taken notice of as a witty, sensible young man: but often on my bed I ruminated on my way of life with regret, yet fell into the same

again. I never was addicted to swearing, nor any very gross vice, but gave way most to jesting and turns of wit to provoke mirth, which gave me often a heavy heart afterwards; and thus I went on for nearly three years.

One first-day, being at meeting, a young woman, named Anne Wilson, was there, and preached; she was very zealous, and fixing my eye upon her, she with great zeal pointed her finger at me, uttering these words with much power, viz:—"A traditional Quaker; thou comest to meeting as thou went from it (the last time), and goest from it as thou came to it, but art no better for thy coming; what wilt thou do in the end?" This was so adapted to my condition, that, like Saul, I was smitten to the ground, as it might be said; but turning my thoughts inward, I cried in secret, "Lord, what shall I do to help it?" and a voice as it were spoke in my heart, saying, "Look unto me, and I will help thee;" thus I found much comfort, which made me shed abundance of tears. Then I remembered what my mother had told me some years before, that when I grew up more to man's estate, I should know the reason of that tenderness and weeping, which I did now to good purpose.

I went home with a heavy heart, and could neither eat nor sleep as I used to do; but my work never succeeded better in my hands than it did at this time, nor was my mind ever less in it: my conduct indeed, as

well as countenance, was much altered, so that several in the family were doubtful that I should fall into a kind of melancholy distraction; but I longed for the meeting-day, and thought it a very long week. When the time of meeting came, my mind was soon fixed and stayed upon God, and I found an uncommon enjoyment, which gave me great satisfaction, my understanding being opened, and all the faculties of my mind so quick, that I seemed another man. A divine and spiritual sweetness abode with me night and day for some time, and I began to understand the scriptures, and the nature of preaching the doctrine of the gospel in the power and spirit, plainly seeing a difference between a preacher of the letter and of the spirit, which, till then, I was wholly ignorant of, and unacquainted with, not having before that the least degree, that I could perceive, of divine understanding. But on looking back, and considering what I had heard such and such Friends preach, which at that time I did not understand, I now understood it clearly; which was a plain demonstration to me, that all divine knowledge is from divine light, and cannot be comprehended, until we are assisted to do so by a visitation from heaven.

Now the scriptures, and ministry from the openings of the Spirit, seemed so clear and plain to my understanding, that I wondered that any remained unconvinced, supposing them to see the truths of the gospel in the same light that I then did.

That saying of the Apostle, wherein he asserts his knowledge of the Son of God being come, from having received an understanding from him, was clearly discovered to me; so that now I plainly saw a distinction between the children of light, and the children of this world—the spiritual and the natural man; and that the natural man could not receive the things of the Spirit of God, they being foolishness to him; neither can he know them, because they are known only by the Spirit, as the Apostle asserts. Thus I found myself much improved in divine wisdom and saving knowledge.

As I was going to meeting not long after, walking alone, it came very livingly into my mind, that if I was but faithful and obedient to the heavenly vision, I should soon be qualified to teach others; and more especially, as I saw by experience wherein my shortness had been, in being contented and easy with a form of truth and religion, which I had only by education, having been brought up in plainness of both habit and speech; but all this, though very good in its place, did not make me a true christian; I was but a "traditional quaker," and that by education only, and not from the scriptures, because they were as a sealed book to me. I now saw plainly that education, even if very carefully administered, would not do the work; although a pious education ought by no means to be neglected, but all parents and guardians ought to be stirred up to their duty in that respect; yet we

must consider, that it is not in the power of parents or the most pious tutors, to confer grace, which is the gift of God alone; nor can any come into the true fold but by this door, as said our Saviour concerning himself. It plainly appeared to me that there was no other way but this, viz:—by the Spirit of Christ alone, to attain to true faith, which works by love, and gives victory over our infirmities and evil deeds, working such a change in us, that we can in truth from experience say, we are born from above; and by virtue of that birth only, is the true knowledge of the kingdom and the things of God attained, and by no other way or means, although never so well contrived by human art. Being experimentally sensible of this change wrought in my mind, it looked the more likely that I might in time be qualified to speak to others of my own experience of the operation of the Spirit in myself, yet I thought not the time so near at hand, as it appeared when I came to the meeting. For I had not sat long therein, before a great weight fell upon me, with some words to speak; but I considered, being willing to be my own carver, that it was too soon to undertake such a task, being then but as an infant in religion; not remembering the small time between Paul's conversion and his preaching the gospel. Also my former conduct with my companions, many of whom were in the meeting at the same time, stood much in my way, for my reformation was but three weeks old that very day;

so that I reasoned thus,—that so sudden a change would hardly be borne; therefore I could not, at that time, for these reasons, give up, and the burden was taken from me. But after that meeting it came upon me again with double weight, and affected me so very greatly, that I was much alone, and my countenance so altered with weeping, that my master took occasion to enquire into the matter, how it was with me? I gave him as plain an account as I was capable of, with which he was much affected indeed, and broken into tears. What I feared was, that I had by disobedience so much offended, that I should be cast off for ever: but he, by sundry exhortations from scripture and otherwise, endeavoured to pacify me, not doubting but that I should have the like offer made me again, putting me in mind of Gideon's fleece, &c.

When the next meeting-day came, I went in great weakness and fear, and could rather have gone elsewhere, than to meeting that day; however, some time after I was in the meeting, I felt the like concern as before, and sat under the weight of it till the meeting was almost over, and then hardly knew how I got upon my feet, but at last I did so, and broke out with a loud voice in these words, "Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him which is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. I say, fear you him who will terribly shake the earth, that all which is moveable may be shaken and removed out of the way, that that

which is immoveable may stand." This was all I had to say at that time. But oh! what joy and sweetness I felt afterwards I cannot express, and the pleasure of my mind appeared in my countenance, so that my master took notice, and spoke of it feelingly; plainly demonstrating that he was a partaker with me of the same rejoicing in himself, as at the birth of an only son. This was about the year 1696, on that called Christmas-day, it falling that year upon the first-day of the week.

Thus having, as it may be said, broken the ice, the next time was not quite so hard; but I said very little, and seldom appeared for a year or two, having then about three years of my apprenticeship to serve, which I did with fidelity and truth.

In the last year of my time, I found some considerable working in my mind to visit Scotland, being very rarely without some degree of divine virtue on me, either by night or day; therefore I thought, if it was so with me then, it would be much more so when I had nothing to mind but divine things; but I found it otherwise, of which in its place.

I may not omit, that some time above two years after I first spoke in meetings, I opened the new testament at that passage spoken by our Saviour, (*Mat.* x. 28.) to the same effect with what was first opened on my mind, as mentioned above; which then I knew nothing of, as being the sayings of Christ to warn them against the fear of men; although I had read it,

but had taken so little notice of what I read, that it was to me as if it had never been written. It was a great comfort to me, that I was thus opened in a material point of the doctrine of our blessed Lord, at my first setting out.

About this time I had a desire to visit a neighbouring meeting called Yelland, it being the first that I ever had a concern to visit, and I desired my dear friend Isaac Alexander to go with me. Agreeing upon the time, I went to his brother's house where he lived, the seventh-day evening before; and he and I went to visit James Wilson and his parents that evening: James was under convincement, but not his parents. We had some conference, but being called to supper, left off abruptly. After supper I could not be easy without repeating my visit, and James's mother being very quick in the scriptures, desired my judgment on those texts in Isaiah and Peter, viz:—"Behold, I create new heavens, and new earth, wherein dwells righteousness." My understanding was opened to preach unto her the new birth so effectually, that she was thoroughly convinced, and continued an honest Friend to her dying day, going to meeting the very next day, and as long as she was able to attend meetings.

Now my time of servitude being nearly ended, and my master, being very willing to keep me in his service, spoke to me about it, which gave me an opportunity to open my mind to him concerning my intended visit

to Scotland; he then told me to acquaint some of of the elders in the meeting therewith, for it was needful that I should have a certificate, to show the unity of the brethren with my journey: this accordingly I did, and had a certificate; Isaac Alexander was my companion, and had a certificate likewise. So we set out; Kendal being the first meeting, and then went to Preston, Yelland, Height, and Hawkeshead; and visited part of Lancashire, and Yorkshire, in about three or four weeks. But the poverty of my spirit was so exceedingly great and bitter, that I could scarcely bear it, but cried out aloud; and it was so surprising to my companion, that we being ourselves walking on foot, he feared it would be too hard for me; for I complained that I was deceived or mistaken; because while in my master's work, I rarely by night or day was without some degree of divine virtue on my mind, but now I could feel nothing but the bitterness of death and darkness; all comfort was hid from me for a time, and I was baptized into death indeed. As we went along, I said to Isaac, with vehemency of spirit, "Oh! that I was in my master's work again, and favoured with my former enjoyments of divine life, how acceptable it would be!" We came, at our journey's end, to one Miles Birket's, who was more than usually kind to us; but alas! he did not know my state and poverty. Next day we went to another meeting at Hawkeshead, and it was a little better with me, but I was very poor; so we performed

our journey in about a month, when he returned to his father's house, and I to my master Parat's.

I was now very loath to go to Scotland, having been proved with so much poverty of spirit, and indeed the cup was so bitter that I could hardly bear it; however, I kept my mind to myself, and Isaac and I set forward on foot, visiting part of Cumberland in our way. I thought he had very fine service, so much superior to mine, that after him I was afraid to lessen or hurt what good he had done, and before him I was afraid to stand in his way. He was much admired, and some were convinced by his ministry; we accomplished that journey in about two months.

At our return, hay harvest came on, and I went to mowing, and on the meeting-days I went just where my mind led me, and grew much in my ministry, and the Lord let me see his kindness to lead me through the state of poverty, which was of great service to qualify me to speak to others in the like condition. Thus he showed me that trials of sundry kinds were for my improvement and good, tending to my establishment in the true root of a divine and spiritual ministry; and the doctrine of our Saviour and his apostle comforted me much, so that I became, in the opinion of several, an able minister, although but short, seldom standing a quarter of an hour. But alas! I have since seen that I was but a mere babe or infant in the work.

This summer past over, and by my harvest work at

hay and corn I picked up a little money, having been almost pennyless. Before I got to work, I travelled to a meeting, 14 or 15 miles, three times forth and back, on foot and all alone, with only three half-pence, being all the money I had, and thinking to refresh myself on the way: but when I came near the house of entertainment, I found myself so strong and cheerful, that I thought I might want it more at another time, and so kept it.

Towards the fall of the year I bought a horse, and put myself in a condition for another journey with my old companion Isaac; either of us thinking himself pretty sufficient to hold a meeting; however, I was to go with him through Bishoprick (in Durham) and Yorkshire, and he was to go with me into the West, as Wilts, Somerset, Devonshire, &c. We had not proceeded far before I was very much shut up, and had no satisfaction at all in going farther with him; I told him how it was with me, and we were both willing to part. So I went to be at York on a first-day, and meeting with dear John Richardson, I laid my concern before him, who as a nursing father spoke to me very encouragingly, and got meetings appointed for me at Wetherby and so forward towards Doncaster. I went on in great fear, and after meeting at Wetherby, Benjamin Brown said very encouragingly he believed that the Lord would enlarge my gift, "and when thou findest it so," said he, "do not value thyself upon it, but give the honour of it

where it is due, and keep humble, and God will bless thee, and make thee a useful member in his hand." My next meeting was at Wakefield, which was very much to my comfort and encouragement. Thence to Pontefract, where I had no cause to complain; but a Friend after meeting caviled and found much fault with what I had said, which brought some uneasiness upon me; but being afterwards told that he used to do so, and that he was not in unity, I was pretty light and easy. So I went from thence to Doncaster on the seventh-day, it being their market, and was conducted to Thomas Aldam's quarters, he being in town, who soon came, and looked at me, I thought austerely, first enquiring whence I came and if I had a certificate? Giving him proper answers, and showing him my certificate, all seemed agreeable, and he undertook to appoint meetings forward and sent me home with his son: but never having been so closely examined before, a fear grew in my mind how I should come off, Thomas Aldam being a noted minister; but at last he came home, and was very tender and kind indeed. On the next, being First-day, we repaired to meeting, and I came off much beyond what I expected, preaching almost an hour, so that I was very cheerful in my spirit after it, and we had a little opportunity in the evening, and all ended brave and well; so the week following I went to Blithe, and took meetings in course as they lay by Maplebeck to Nottingham. At Maplebeck there was

a brave old living Friend, with whom I had great comfort, his name was John Camm. At this place I had the best meeting that I had ever had, and it produced a remarkable effect upon me, for I began to think the bitterness and anguish of death, which I had gone through before, might now be over in great degree, and I should go on more smoothly and with more ease for the time to come, for the Friends showed me much respect, and I was visited in the evening and morning before I left them, by sundry that lived nigh. In short I thought more of myself than I had done before, that I remember. Two or three of them went with me to Nottingham, seeming much pleased with my company. It being seventh-day, I was there on first-day at two meetings, and came off tolerably well but not as at Maplebeck. The third-day following I was at Castle Donnington, where was a fine collection of Friends; I preached some time amongst them, but found not that authority and life, as I thought, to attend me as before; however, I desired another meeting with them that evening, which was readily assented to, and was very large considering the place. I seemed very poor and low, and blamed myself much for appointing another meeting in so poor and weak a frame of mind; the meeting came on and proved better than I expected, but I was very low, and it being a clear moonlight night, I walked into the Friend's orchard behind his house, bemoaning myself very much, as having lost my guide, and fallen

from that happy condition I was in the week before. The friend of the house finding I tarried long came out to me, having a sense of my low condition, and enquiring how I did, began to speak very much in praise of those two meetings, and of the service I had had in them, but all this did not raise my spirits; we went in, and perceiving I was very low, he and his wife endeavoured to comfort me; his wife had a fine gift of the ministry, and told me some experiences she had gone through, but all did not do, nor come near my condition. Next day I went to Swannington in Leicestershire, where was a fine body of friends again: I had not sat long before I felt, as I thought, as good an authority to preach as ever, and stood up, not doubting an open satisfactory meeting; but I had not stood above fifteen, if so many, minutes, when all was shut up, and it seemed as though both the sun and air were darkened. I sat down under a great cloud, to think what I should do; appealing to God, as having no ill design, but much otherwise, and earnestly in secret desiring help; when immediately I heard, as though a voice had spoken intelligibly, "Thou runnest and God has not sent thee, thou speakest but God does not speak by thee; therefore thou shalt not profit the people."

It may be thought I was bad before, but much worse now, being under the very hour and power of death and darkness, and at my wits-end what to do. Under this great temptation, divers ways presented,

such as to turn myself out of the line of friends, which I found would be somewhat hard to do, as I always had a guide from one place to another; then to turn home again, and by that method I might get rid of friends as guides, and make the best of my way to some port in Ireland, sell my horse, and get work (where I was not known) at my trade; but then the honour of the monthly-meeting, that had given me so good a certificate, would be affected by my so doing; and having considered of sundry ways to take, at last this presented, to make away with myself in some river or pond, as though it had been by accident, and so to cover all. Thus for a time I was bewildered, not seeing where I was, but since it has plainly appeared to me that I was under the influence of the spirit of antichrist. Thus begging heartily for help, I fell on my knees and prayed with that fervency, that few under the roof but where melted into tears, and it was such a time as I never had before nor since in prayer, as I remember: thus that meeting ended. Next I went to a town called Hinckley, where there was a considerable number of friends and other people; I was extremely low and poor, but had a comfortable meeting, that much healed me, and set me to rights again.

Then I visited Leicestershire pretty generally, and a woman of some account there, named Jemima Mountney, was convinced, and was exceedingly tender and loving, being thoroughly reached and

satisfied. When we took leave she was so open-hearted that she called me aside, and after having said something about her inward condition, she offered me some pieces of gold: those I told her I durst not touch; when she very courteously, and with a becoming genteel mien, told me she was both able and willing, and as she had no other way to show her gratitude for that spiritual good she had received by my ministry, she could do no less than that, beseeching that I would receive it, as the true token of her love and respect. In answer I said, it was what I never had done, nor could I now do so; but all the reward I desired and expected was, that she might carefully, with a sincere heart, endeavour that her obedience should keep pace with her knowledge, the hearing of which would much rejoice my soul. We parted in great love and tenderness. I heard that sundry others were convinced in that neighbourhood. A very honest friend, whose name was Brooks, took great pains to get the seeking people to meeting, and I was much enlarged in pertinent matter, suitable to the states of such seeking souls.

Out of Leicestershire, being very well rewarded for the bitterness I had suffered before I came into it, (which, as before, was as much as I could bear) I passed into Warwickshire, and had some good opportunities in that county, as at Warwick and other places.

I found I often hurt myself by speaking too fast and

too loud, against which I endeavoured to guard as much as I could; but when I felt my heart filled with the power of divine love, I was apt to forget myself and break out. I found it proper therefore to stop, and make a brief pause, using some short secret prayer for preservation, and that I might be supplied with matter and power, that might do the hearers good. Thus I went on, and grew sensibly in experience and judgment, becoming skilful in some small degree in dividing the word. I had also been straitened in my mind respecting searching the Scriptures, lest I should thereby be tempted to lean upon them, and by gathering either manna or sticks on the Sabbath-day, death should ensue; but at last I had freedom to examine the text, and to consider where the strength of the argument lay, both before and after the words I had repeated. By these means I often saw I was very defective, in not laying hold of the most suitable part to confirm the subject or matter I was upon, and this practice did me great service. But then another difficulty stood in my way, which was this; some former openings would come up, which I durst not meddle with, lest by so doing I should become formal, and lose that divine spring which I had always depended upon. But the Lord was pleased to shew me that old matter, opened in new life, was always new, and that it was the renewings of the spirit alone which made it new, and that the principal thing I was to guard against was, not in my own will

to endeavour to bring in old openings, without the aid of the spirit; and that if I stood single, and resigned to the divine will, I should be preserved from all errors of this nature.

From Warwickshire I travelled into Worcestershire, visiting sundry meetings in that county, and finding a fresh supply every day. I was at Worcester on a first-day, and after the meeting in the forenoon, an ancient friend examined me very closely, from whence I came, and for a certificate; to all which I gave him answers; but my certificate being at my quarters in my saddle bag, he could not then see it. I had a very good meeting, as I thought, and my landlord William Pardoe, a brave sensible elder, advised me not to be uneasy at the old friend's examining me; "for," said he, "he does so to every stranger." We went to meeting in the afternoon, which was very large, and I was much opened, and had, as I thought, very good service; but the old friend, after the meeting, urged me, in the same strain, to show my certificate; and not having it then about me, he seemed much displeased. I made no other reply, than to tell him, I was very willing he should see it; but my landlord took him up, and told him, he thought the young man had already shown his best certificate in both the meetings; "but nevertheless," said he, "come to my house in the evening and thou shalt see it;" so we parted. My landlord thought his conduct had

been disagreeable, and fearing it would be an uneasiness to me, spoke very tenderly, and like a nursing father encouraged me, by saying, I could not shew him a better confirmation that I was anointed for the ministry, than I had already done. So in the evening, after it was dark, he and many other friends came; but my landlord, the old friend, and I, went aside, and I showed him what he desired so much to see; when he had read it, he was much pleased with it, and knowing sundry friends that had signed it, he enquired after them. We then went to our friends again, who were much increased in number, and we had a heavenly season, being thoroughly baptized together; we parted in great love and sweetness, and the old friend was exceedingly kind.

From thence I went into Gloucestershire, and visited part of that county, by Tewkesbury to Cheltenham, Gloucester, Painswick, Nailsworth, and Tetbury. I had sundry good opportunities; and one young woman was convinced at Tetbury, who became a very good friend. From thence into Wiltshire and Hampshire, as far as Ringwood, and to Poole and Weymouth, calling at Wareham and Corfe, and having a meeting at each place, but nothing worthy of note at either of them; so I travelled to Bridport, Lyme, Membury, Chard, and Crewkern; and back to Somerton, Puddimore and Masson to a funeral, and to Yeovil on a First-day. Having visited Somersetshire, I went into Devonshire as far as Exeter; then turned towards

Taunton, taking meetings in my way towards Bristol, but nothing happened of weight.

I staid in Bristol, and visited meetings about the city for nearly five weeks, and from thence finding my mind much drawn to visit Wales, I took the quarterly meeting of Hereford in my way, which was held annually at Almely; and there I met with my dear friend Isaac Alexander. We were glad to see as well as to hear each other, which when we did, it appeared to me that Isaac was improved considerably, and he said the same of me, observing that he thought, I preached the practical doctrine of the gospel more than he did; for his preaching was very much in comparisons and allegories, which he apprehended were not so plain and easy to the understandings of the people as what I had to say. We had now an opportunity of opening our minds to each other, which was of great service to us both, having sundry meetings together, and we had drawings for the yearly-meeting at Llanidloes in Wales. This opportunity was very agreeable to us; sundry friends of note, Benjamin Bangs and others out of Cheshire were there; the people came in abundance, and at times were very rude, but in the main it was a serviceable meeting. Afterwards I visited Wales, appointing meetings onwards as far as we thought proper at once, and a good old friend, Philip Leonard, offering to be my companion, was of great service to me. I was very poor and low

at most meetings in that journey, by reason but few of the people could well understand what I said in several places; but Philip stood up after I had done, and in part interpreted what I had said, yet I did not seem to be quite easy in mind.

Isaac went to the Bristol yearly-meeting, and was very zealous against unnecessary fashions and superfluities in both sexes, insomuch that some thought he exceeded, in his words against them, the bounds of modesty; yet he might plead the example of the prophet Isaiah in that respect. But the chief objection was to his prophesying of a great mortality, which the Lord was about to bring as a judgment upon the people, for their pride and wickedness, which he thought it his duty to deliver in their yearly-meeting, as a warning for all to mind their ways, lest, being taken unprepared, their loss should be irreparable. He spoke in such strong and positive terms, that friends were afraid he was too much exalted in himself; upon which some of the elders thought proper to converse with and examine him, concerning this extraordinary message which he had delivered: and what he said to them not being satisfactory, they advised him to proceed no further on his journey, but to return home. This he did under great trouble, but was there received in much love and tenderness, and appeared excellently in his gift, and grew in divine wisdom and power, being of great service in the ministry wherever he

came. Having a concern to visit the churches abroad, he acquainted some of our elders therewith; who thought it not proper for him to go, till something was done to satisfy the friends of Bristol; and upon their enquiry of Isaac, he gave them a single and honest account how it was with him at that time respecting his concern. So friends took it in hand, and wrote to Bristol, neither justifying nor condemning him, but recommending charity and tenderness towards him; and from Bristol friends answered, that with open arms they could receive him, believing him to be a sincere young man who intended very well, and that they were glad he took their admonition right, and had owned it had been of service to him. So ended this affair, and Isaac said he could not think hardly of his brethren in doing what they did, though he could not then see that he had missed his way in delivering that prophecy; thus he showed forth a lively instance of warm zeal, tempered with a due regard to the sense and advice of his brethren and elders, and the unity of the church, which doubtless tended to his own preservation and comfort.

When I heard of this affair, I took it so much to heart that it was almost too much for me; and a concern came upon me to go to London with the like message, but with this caution, first to advise with some faithful brethren before I delivered it: and I wrote to Isaac to let him know it, which gave him

great ease. Accordingly I went to London, and got sundry brethren together, viz. James Dickinson, John Bowstead, Peter Fearon, Benjamin Bangs, Robert Haydock, with some others, and gave them a plain and honest account how it came upon me, which was not till after I heard how my dear companion had returned home from Bristol; adding that I had acquainted Isaac how it was with me, that he might know my sympathy with him.

The friends seeing what he had written, found there was a strong sympathy between us, and very justly supposing that to be the moving, if not only, cause of the concern I was under, very tenderly advised me to keep it in my own breast till I found how the Lord would order it; for if he was the author, I should feel more of it, if not, it would die of course; but if I found it grew upon me, they desired that I would let any of them know it, and they would consider what steps to take, in a matter of so great consequence as going forth in a prophecy of that nature. The fatherly kindness they showed me affected me much, one or other of them making it their business to visit me every day; and, as they said, I found the concern went off, and I became easy without publishing it.

After this I had many very acceptable opportunities in London, during the time of the yearly-meeting, and afterwards visited friends, in my way towards Leeds in Yorkshire; having agreeable service in both the counties of Leicester and Nottingham, and at sundry other places.

From Leeds I went to the yearly-meeting at York, which was very large, and many public friends were there; but I was hid, as it were, and made but little appearance at that meeting.

From thence I travelled homewards, visiting friends as I went, and was gladly received by them; and I found my ministry very acceptable; being very humble and low in mind, as it increased upon me, knowing that my strength and safety from temptation consisted therein.

I was now in a strait what course to take to get a little money, my linen and woollen both wanting to be repaired; and meeting with a young man newly set up in his trade, I proposed to work with him; who was ready to comply with my offer, supposing it would be a means to improve him; so we agreed, and I began with him, and found it answered much better than harvest work; so that I soon stored myself with a little cash, working hard all that summer; and in the fall of the year I prepared for a journey, with my good friend Joseph Baines.

We sat out in the latter end of the sixth month, and visited some parts of Yorkshire, and so went into Lincolnshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk; and did very well together; only friends took so much notice of me, that I was afraid that he would be uneasy. But he was so entirely innocent, and had so much of the lamb in him, that he never did, that I could find, show any uneasiness, more than to give me a caution with a

smile, "Sammy," said he, (for I was mostly called so) "thou hadst need take care, friends admire thee so much, that thou dost not grow proud;" and indeed the caution was very seasonable as well as serviceable to me, which I saw and acknowledged. This Joseph was, it might be said, an Israelite indeed, as meek as a lamb; not great in the ministry, but very acceptable, especially among other people, having a meek, quiet, easy delivery, mostly in scripture phrases, with which he was well furnished, repeating them with little or no comment, which some admired very much; and he had great service at funerals, being in a peculiar manner qualified for such services. But afterwards, on receiving an account of some troubles in his family, it brought great uneasiness upon him and he returned home.

I then visited most of the meetings over again, and returned into Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire, and so towards Dorsetshire and Somersetshire, taking meetings as I went, through part of Oxfordshire; I had many meetings, sometimes fourteen in a week, and generally to satisfaction. In almost every parish where a friend lived, we had a meeting; beside which, sundry offered their houses who were not friends, which we embraced. I came through part of Hampshire and Warwickshire, and so back again to Hampshire, visiting Friends, and had many meetings in places where none had been. The people who were not friends, were much

inclined to have meetings in their houses in many places, and would desire friends to conduct me to their houses: so that, although I was entirely unknown to most, yet there was very great willingness to receive the doctrine of Christ, and sundry I found, by accounts I received from friends, were afterwards convinced. The teachers of the national way, and dissenters also, were much disturbed, and threatened what they would do, and that they would come and dispute: and some of them came several times, and got out of sight, where they could hear and could not be seen; but never any gave me the least disturbance all that journey. Some said that I was a cheat, viz. a Jesuit in disguise, others that I was brought up for the pulpit, and for some misdemeanour suspended, and so they varied according to their imaginations; but I was very easy in my service, and found my heart much enlarged. Some of the people took me to have a good share of learning; which, although it was false, served me for a defence against some busy men, who thought they could dispute about religion and doctrine, which I always endeavoured to avoid as much as possible, finding any advantage seldom gained by such work, but that it mostly ended in cavilling and a strife of words.

As I went through part of Dorsetshire, at Sherborne an old friend was sick, and not expected to get over that illness, and it came into my mind that he would die of that sickness, and that I must be at his

funeral, and preach with my Bible in my hand; this made me shrink, as fearing it was the fruit of imagination, but I kept it to myself, and had many meetings about those parts, as at Yeovil, Puddimore, Masson, Weston, &c. Besides this, a young woman, who afterwards became my wife, had strong hold of my affections, and I having acquainted her parents therewith, had liberty from them to lay it before their daughter, which I did, although at the same time it was upon me to visit America, before I entered into the marriage state. This also I gave her to understand, for I had reasoned in my mind, that it might be better to let it rest until my return if I lived; but in answer to that it appeared that I might have opportunities there which might be a snare to me, and by this prior engagement I might be freed from all temptations of that kind; for if it was once known that I was already engaged, even that would command silence in this respect. So on this consideration I made my suit to her, which she received with such a degree of modesty and sweetness as was very engaging and obliging to me. But she had an uncle, on whom she had some dependence, who seemed much averse to it, and would have his niece left at liberty, that if any thing offered in my absence she might embrace it; which I very readily complied with; then he was pleased, only he would have me leave it under my hand, which also I was very ready to do; and yet more, viz. to stand bound myself and leave her at liberty,

to which she objected, as unreasonable on her part to desire such a thing from me; so we parted. I went on to Street, Glastonbury, Burnham, Sidcot, Clareham, and Bristol; having let slip out of my memory the sickness of the old friend at Sherborne.

I had not been many hours in Bristol, before a messenger came to desire Benjamin Coole to attend the funeral, and Benjamin came to me at Brice Webb's where I lodged, and told me how it was, desiring me to go. I pleaded in excuse, that my horse was not fit, with other objections, which were all removed; and accordingly I went to Bruton next day, being the seventh of the week, and was at that small meeting on first-day; the funeral was on second-day, which was exceeding large, John Beere from Weymouth being there, who had something to say but not much. Then, as it had been with me, I pulled my Bible out of my pocket and opened it, upon which the people gave more attention than they had done before, and I had a very acceptable time, often in the course of my matter referring to the text for proof, and giving an ample testimony of the value we put upon the Scriptures, earnestly pressing the careful reading of them, and advising the people to consider what they read, and to seek the Lord by prayer, for assistance and power, that they might practise what they read, which was the ultimate end of reading, as well as the hearing of preaching, for without practice it would avail but little, with other

advice to the same effect. Sundry teachers of several societies being there, one of them, a Baptist, took hold of me after meeting was ended, and desired some conversation with me. I looked at him earnestly, and desired to know if he had any objection against any part of what I had said? "If thou hast," said I, speaking with an audible voice that stopped many of the company, "this is the most proper place, the people being present;" for they thronged about us very much. This made him confess that what he had heard was sound and according to the Scripture, being very well proved from the text; but he desired some private discourse between ourselves at my quarters, if I would permit it. I told him that he might, that I quartered at Richard Fry's; and Richard being present told him he should be welcome to come to his house, and so we parted. When I came to Richard's, he said we should hear no more of him, for that he had, in his discourses among his hearers, spoken many very unhandsome things against the Quakers, endeavouring to unchristianize them, and to prove them heathens, in denying the ordinances—a common plea used by all our adversaries. But this upstart carried the matter farther than some others did, by adding that we denied the Scriptures, and would not allow of a Bible in any of our meetings; nor did our preachers ever use a Bible, to prove anything therefrom that we preached to the people, with more to the same purport; and as many of his hearers were there, my

appearing with a Bible, and so often referring to the text for proof, did no doubt cause him and them to think of what had been preached by him amongst them, concerning the Quakers, which now appeared, by what they had both seen and heard that day, to be a manifest untruth. However to be short, as Richard Fry thought, so it proved, for he did not come at all near me; so that went off well, and truth was exalted above lies and falsehood.

I returned to Bristol well contented, being filled with peace and consolation, and gave my friends Benjamin Coole and some others a relation of my conduct. Benjamin was pleased that I had gone, and repeated what he had said before to persuade me, adding, that he was pretty much assured it was my place to go; but that if he had known how it came into my mind to preach with the book in my hand, although in the sequel it proved right, yet he should have been afraid that more of imagination than revelation was in it, therefore that would rather have hindered him, than have been any argument for him to have pressed my going, because he had found some mistakes committed from such sights, which proved to be but imaginations. He gave me some very suitable advice, to take care how I too easily embraced such things for truth, without a due trial; in the belief that it was not displeasing to heaven to try the spirit from whence such things proceeded.

I staid in and about Bristol three weeks, visiting

the meetings around, but on first-days I was mostly in the city, and it being the winter fair, meetings were very large. At the third-day meeting in the fair week, a man out of Wiltshire, a separatist, named Arthur Ismead, stood up to preach; and while speaking of the light, he put forth a question about bringing our deeds to the light, saying, "Do I bring my deeds to the light?" A worthy elder named Charles Harford answered, "No, thou dost not, if thou didst, thou wouldst not do as thou dost." I sat all this time under a very great concern, and the word was in me like fire; so I stood up, and with a strong and powerful voice began to preach, he crying out that he had not done; but taking no account of that I went on, and he soon sat down and fell asleep: we had a blessed edifying meeting that day, and truth was exalted above error.

After this meeting, being clear of the city, I visited some parts of Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Derbyshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, but nothing happened worthy of any great note, except that in many places I had very large open quiet meetings; and when I found myself very high and full, I then expected low times again, for I was very seldom drawn forth in doctrine and enlarged more than common, but Maplebeck would come in my way, and the uncommon temptation and trial I underwent after that meeting, which did not arrive at its

height until I came to Swannington, as before hinted.

I reached home about the latter end of the first month, and staid with my dear friend Robert Chambers part of that summer, helping him and his brother-in-law John Moore at Gale, mowing more days this year than I had ever done in one season before. John Bowstead and Peter Fearon had a meeting appointed for them at a place called Goose-green, between Kendal and Milthrop, to which meeting there was a very great resort. Being desired to attend it, I did so, and in the beginning of the meeting spoke something of the universal love of God to mankind: after which, a friend went on with the same subject, and inferred from the text something more than it would bear, so that a young man who taught school at Beatham, a small parish in that neighbourhood, took him up after the meeting was over, and having the advantage of the argument, endeavoured to bear the friend down. I was gone with some others to see the horses got ready for our return; but being called, I got with difficulty into the house, which was much crowded, the meeting having been held in the open ground without the house. When I heard them, I soon found where the pinch was: the friend having said what the text would not bear, in quoting Obadiah the 10th verse, compared with Romans the 9th chapter and 11th verse. I observed,

when I heard it, that he went too far in expression, and as he repeated the words more than twice, the young man had them very plain. I waited some time, and then desired liberty of the young man to ask him a question, the answering of which might bring the argument to a point; adding, not that I thought myself so capable to maintain that argument as my friend was. He gave me leave, and my question was, whether he believed it consistent with divine wisdom and mercy, to punish men for such faults, as by his argument, they were ordained to be guilty of, and which because of that ordination, they could not avoid? He soon very frankly answered, that he did not believe it. I then asked him why he argued against his own faith and judgment? for although he took advantage of my friend's words not being so well guarded as they might have been, yet that was no just ground to argue against his own judgment. Thus this argument dropped; and then he took up baptism, but soon finding himself not able to support what he undertook to prove by the text, viz. infant baptism, he confessed that he was not qualified to maintain his argument, and therefore requested that we would favour him to confer on that subject on Wednesday next, in the room where he taught school, with the minister of their parish; adding, "It might be of service both to him and others." My friends were very much for it, and I was not against it, provided they would go and assist, for I

looked on myself very unequal to such a task as this was likely to be. However, after some discourse betwixt ourselves, I consented, on condition that John Jopson, the schoolmaster of Kendal would be my second; who, being well acquainted with both the Greek and Latin Testament, might help me against being imposed upon by any false gloss or interpretation, put upon the text to prove their arguments. So we told the young man we would endeavour to answer his request, by being with him on fourth-day by nine in the morning: he was glad to be discharged for the present; for I had not seen one sweat more freely than he did, being in so great an agony, that he could not forbear shaking as he stood by the table: and thus we parted for this time very good friends. But I grew uneasy, fearing how it would end, and blamed my friends for bringing me into the scrape, and not assisting in it, leaving me to dispute with I knew not whom; but all I got was, that they doubted not that I should be assisted to come off well, of which I was very doubtful, and it hindered me of some hours sleep.

When the time came, my friend John Jopson and two more went with me; we came pretty early, rather before than after the time appointed; and the young man had got his room and two elbow chairs ready for the parson and myself, but I was not willing to sit in either, being younger than my friend Jopson; yet to avoid words about it, I sat down in

one. The young man acquainted the parson that we were come, and he came to us, scraping and bowing, and the more so we supposed, because he saw we did not answer him in the same way. After he had sat down, before entering on what we met about, he would needs have it that I challenged a dispute with him; to which I could not agree, but referring to the young man, I desired that he would inform his neighbour of the true cause of our coming there, which he did handsomely, to the effect following, in very decent language, viz.—"Sir, meeting last sabbath-day with this gentleman, we fell into a conference about infant baptism, I supposing that I was able from scripture to prove that practice; but on trial, finding myself not able to hold the argument, I shut it up. Therefore being persuaded, and believing you, Sir, to be infinitely more able to defend the practice of our church, than I was, I desired this gentleman to favour me so much as to come and confer with you on this subject, in my hearing, that I might have this matter set in a true light; and I beg your pardon, Sir, hoping that this modest request to the gentleman is not offensive to you, and I will assure you it is a great pleasure to me."

Thus having made his apology, the priest, being a hasty passionate man, began:—"You Quakers are not fit to be disputed with, because you deny the Scriptures, the ordinances of baptism, and the supper of our Lord."

I addressed myself to the young man, asking him to inform the parson that infant baptism (so called) was the present point to be considered; which he did in a few words, and very well: but it was to no purpose, the priest would go on his own way, calling us heretics, schismatics, heathens, and what not, bestowing freely such reflections upon us as came into his head. Having proceeded in this rambling way for some time with unbecoming language, I requested that he would hear me without interruption, as I had him. I then put him in mind of his old age, (he having a comely personage, and fine white locks) and that it might with reason be supposed, he had more experience than we young men had; "And," said I, "supposing that thou mayst be right, and that we may be in error, yet for all this, in my opinion, thou must be wrong in thy conduct towards us, in being so liberal to give us hard names, and showing no reason for doing so." Here I was broken in upon with a violent assertion, that all the disciples and apostles had a commission to teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.—"Do you confute this or own it?" I urged, "No water is named in that text; and besides, that text should be rendered, *into* the name of the Father, Son, &c."

Here the young man, and my friend Jopson, searched both the Latin and Greek, and agreed that it was more proper to render it "*into* the name," than "*in*

the name," &c. Then, if that was right, as it was my opinion it was, it was plain to me that the materials of that baptism could not be elementary water, therefore I could see nothing in this text to prove the practice of sprinkling infants, or infant baptism.

Here I was interrupted again with great warmth: the parson urging that the disciples, primitive ministers, and apostles, all had a commission in Mat. xxviii. which by succession was to continue to the end of the world; and that this baptism was with water, for that the apostles could not baptize with the Holy Ghost.

In answer, I said, "When Peter, at the house of Cornelius, began to speak, as appears by his own account, 'the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning,' said Peter; from which it is plain, that teaching, by direction of the Spirit, being prior to baptism, the baptism of the Holy Ghost was the consequence of such teaching." But this not pleasing the parson, he in answer said, "Undoubtedly the commission in Mat. xxviii, was water, it could be nothing else; what, are you wiser than all our forefathers, who have understood, ever since the first ministers, this text to mean no other but water? accordingly we have so practised." I queried if he thought the text meant outward elementary water. He said he did. I desired to know his reason for so believing. He answered, "The practice of the apostles in pursuance of that commission which all

had." I then queried if he thought that Paul was included in that commission. He granted that he was, and said that by virtue of his commission he baptized many. But I desired they would turn to the text, I Cor. i, 17, where the Apostle plainly says Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the gospel; and in the foregoing verses he thanks God he baptized no more, &c,; besides, allowing that they did baptize with, or more properly in, water, yet this argues nothing in proof of sprinkling, nor is there any either precept or precedent for it in all the Bible. At this the parson rose up in a passion, told us that we were no Christians, nor fit to be conversed with as such, and left us in a rage without any ceremony.

Now the young man acknowledged that the minister, as he styled him, was not able to defend his own practice from Scripture, and desired that we would lend him some books treating on that subject, and others, in which we differed from them and other dissenters in point of religion. We agreed to let him have William Penn's Key, Robert Barclay's Apology, and some more, upon applying himself for them to John Jopson his brother schoolmaster. He was thoroughly convinced and likely to make a good man; he had however several enemies, amongst whom the parson was not the least, but shortly after this he sickened and died.

And now to return: I was very diligent in following the harvest work, both at mowing and reaping; I also closely observed my gift, and attended such meetings as I was inclined to; and found I grew therein, and in spiritual discernment. But then I would check myself for such thoughts, seeing them by no means proper to have a place in my heart, lest that humility, which is the ornament of every gospel minister, should be departed from through self love and conceit, by which I might be brought to have a better opinion of myself than any of my neighbours had; which, if given way to, would eat out all that respect that my brethren and the church had for me; and by this foolish pride and conceit, the divine life would be wholly withdrawn, the hearts of friends would be shut against me, and I should lose my place and interest in them, and in the church.

Now I had but one journey more to make, viz. into Scotland, before my going, or at least intending to go, into America, of which in its place.

CHAPTER II.

His journey into Scotland, in the work of the Ministry.

I left home on the 11th of 8th Month, 1701, and had for my companion in this journey a young man who had a fine gift, whose name was Isaac Thompson. We visited sundry meetings in our way to Carlisle, finding our understandings enlarged in the openings of divine truth; our service grew upon us, and we went on with boldness and cheerful minds, meeting on the way with our dear and worthy friend James Dickinson, who was intending a visit into Ireland. In our journey from the border to Dumfries, we had very profitable conversation with him of good service to us both; because we, by reason of youth and want of experience, were often very weak, and doubting whether we were right or not in the work: so that this dear friend, by his tender and fatherly care and advice, was of great encouragement, in letting us know how weak and poor he

often found himself; which so much answered my condition, that it was as marrow to my bones.

When we came to Dumfries, after we had taken some refreshment at our inn, James said to us, "Lads, I find a concern to go into the street, will you go with me?" For he thought it might only be to shew himself, and was desirous that we might go all together, being five in number. So we walked forth, and the inhabitants gazed upon us, for the quakers were seldom seen in that town so many together; several came after us, and James lifted up his voice like a trumpet among the people, who were very quiet and attentive. When he was clear, we retired to our inn, and divers followed us, who were very rude and wicked, but were not permitted to hurt us. We had sweet comfort and refreshment one in another at our quarters.

Next morning we took leave and parted, James Dickinson went to Portpatrick, and we visited the meetings, though very small, until we came to Hamilton, where we were finely refreshed with a small handful of living friends; and so to Glasgow, where the people were rude, but something better than in times past, not being so uncivil to us in the streets; thence to Kinneel, Lithgow, and so over the water on our journey northward, taking Boroughstowness and Ury in our way to Aberdeen quarterly meeting, where we found friends in a sweet frame of spirit, being in dear unity one with another. We had

sundry meetings with them to our good satisfaction, and had some other meetings farther north, as at Inverary, Killmuke, Aworthies, &c.; then back to Ury by Aberdeen, taking our journey to Edinburgh, visiting the small meetings, and some other places which we inclined to visit in our way thither. We had but one little meeting there, and then went for Kelso, where we attended two meetings on the first-day of the week.

In the evening friends there laid before us the desire they had for our going to Jedburgh, a town about seven miles from them, and not much out of our way to England: we considered the matter, but not the exercise that might attend us in going thither; so next morning we went, and when we came to the town, Samuel Robinson being our guide, the landlord at the inn would not give us entertainment; so we went to another inn, and the landlord took us in, withal telling us how indecently the minister had railed against the quakers the day before, asserting that they were the devil's servants, and that by his assistance they did in their preaching what was done; with very many vile words; but observing one of his hearers taking what he said in short-hand, he called out, charging him not to write what he spoke at random against the quakers, with much more to the same effect. We called for some refreshment, but my mind was under so much concern, that I could neither eat nor drink. Calling to pay for what we

had had, we gave the landlord charge of our horses and bags, whereby he suspected that we were going to preach; whereon he took me by the hand, and begged that we would not go into the street, but preach in his house, and he would have his family together, and they would hear us. I looked steadily on the poor man, who trembled very much, and told him we thought it our place and duty to preach to the inhabitants of the town; "and thinkest thou" (said I to him) "that we shall be clear in the sight of God, whom we both fear and serve, by preaching to thee and thy family what we are required to preach to the people of the town?" The poor man I found was smitten in himself, and his countenance altered greatly, but he made this reply: "Is this the case, sir?" I said it was. Then said he, "Go, and God preserve and bless you; but I fear the mob will pull down my house for letting you have entertainment, and kill you for your good will." I bid him not fear; for he whom we served was above the devil, and that not a hair of our heads should be hurt without his permission. He then seemed pacified to let us go, and followed at a distance to see our treatment.

The chief street was very broad, with a considerable ascent, and near the head of the ascent was a place made to cry things on, to which we walked, and paused there a little, but I had nothing to do there at that time. Returning back to the market-cross, which was at the foot of the hill, and had an ascent of

three or four steps, and a place to sit on at the top, there we sat down; but we had not sat long before a man came to us holding a bunch of large keys, and taking me by the hand, said, I must go into the tolbooth, (meaning the prison). I asked him, for what? he said, for preaching. I told him, we had not preached. "Ay! but quoth he, the provost (meaning the mayor) has ordered me to put you in the tolbooth." "For what?" I again replied. "I tell you for preaching." I told him, "I did not know whether we should preach or not, but it was soon enough to make prisoners of us when we did preach." "Ay!" says he, "I ken very weel that you'll preach by your looks." Thus we argued the matter, he endeavouring to pull me up, and I to keep my place; and when he found I was not easily moved, he turned to my companion, who likewise was unwilling to be confined; then he went to Samuel Robinson our guide, who was easily prevailed on to go, and the more so, for that he had been there but the week before with two friends, viz. John Thompson and Thomas Brathwaite, both of our county of Westmoreland.

By this time we had a large assembly, but Samuel Robinson supposed we should have a better conveniency to preach to them in the prison, as the friends afore-named had the week before; so we were conducted thither, just by the cross where we held the parley, and were put in at the door. However he soon saw his mistake, for the week before the

windows of the prison were all open, with nothing but the iron grates in the way, the windows being very large for the sake of air, but now they were all made dark, and strongly fastened up with deals. We had been but a short time there, before a messenger came to offer us liberty, on condition that we would depart the town without preaching; but we could make no such agreement, and so we told him. A a little after he was gone I wrote the following lines to the provost:—

"It is in my mind to write these few lines to thee, the provost of this town of Jedburgh, to let thee understand that our coming within thy liberties, is not to disturb the peace of your town, nor to preach false doctrine or heresy, as is by your teachers maliciously suggested, whose interest it is, as they suppose, to make the people believe it; but in obedience to our Lord Jesus Christ, whose servants we are, for he hath bought us with his most precious blood; and we are no more our own but his that has bought us, whose power is unlimited, and as all power is limited by him, so his power is not to be limited by any other power. Therefore we his servants dare not limit ourselves, or promise any man that we will do this or that, but commit our cause to him, as his, the Lord's, servants did of old; knowing that if we please him he can deliver us, but if not, we can make no promise to any man on this

account, because we ourselves know not what he has for us to do, and therefore we endeavor to stand clear from all engagements, ready to do what he requires at our hands. But I must tell thee, that the manner of our imprisonment looks very rigid and uncommon in these times of liberty, so far below a Christian, that it is hardly humane, that we should be detained here as evil doers before we are examined, or any breach of law appears against us. Doth your Scotch law judge a man before it hear him? if so, it is very unjust indeed, and looks very hard that the king's subjects may not have their liberty to walk in your streets as elsewhere, which was all we did, besides sitting down on the market cross in a thoughtful sense of our duty to God, not opening our mouths but to him that violently forced us into confinement, nor do we know that we should have spoken to the people in a way of preaching at all. But that is the work of our master, and we must wait his will and time, to know both when and how to do it; and if thou think to keep us until we promise thee or any of thy officers not to preach in your streets, it will be long that we must abide here. Therefore I desire thee to take the matter into a christian consideration, to do as thou wouldst be done unto, and give thyself liberty to think for what end the magistrate's sword is put into thy hand, that thou mayst use it right; lest thou shouldst be found one of those that turn

justice backwards, so that equity cannot enter. This is from one that wisheth thy welfare and salvation.

"SAMUEL BOWNAS."

"*Jedburgh Tolbooth,*

18*th of* 9*th Month,* 1701."

When I had written this it was difficult to persuade any one to carry it to the provost, for now they were so affrighted about having any thing to say or do with us, and they durst not appear to talk with us; and whether he had it or not I cannot be certain.

The next day a country gentleman came into the town, who sent his servant to invite us to his house; to which we replied, we knew not yet when we should have our liberty, but desired our thanks to his master for that kind invitation; he replied, we should soon be set at liberty, for his master was gone to the provost, knowing they had no pretence for keeping us there; accordingly in less than two hours after we were set at liberty, and went to our inn to refresh ourselves. The town was very full of country people, it being market day, and we went to the market cross, which was so much surrounded with people selling their ware, that there was no room for us without great damage to them; we therefore, after a short pause, walked up the street to the place before named; the street and balconies were filled with people, with the sashes and casements

open and crowded with spectators; some computed the number to be above five thousand; but such guesses at numbers are uncertain. There I stood up, being above the people, both by the advantage of the ground and the place where I stood, and opened my mouth, being full of the power and spirit of grace, saying, "Fear the Lord and keep his commandments, who by his servant said, I will put my laws in their hearts; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a people. Now if you be obedient to this law, you will do well, and thereby become the people of God, but if disobedient you will lie under his wrath and judgments." With more, distinguishing between the happiness of them that obeyed, and the unhappiness of the disobedient. I then stepped down in expectation that my companion might say somewhat, but he was willing to be gone; and I was concerned to step up again, and kneeling down was fervently drawn forth in prayer, but after I had begun two men came and took me by my arms, and led me down the street praying; by the time we came at the foot of the ascent I had done praying; after which I took a view of the people, who shewed very great respect; but I was conveyed to the prison door, where was a sentry of two soldiers, who stood by and heard what I said to the officers that brought me there, which was to this effect,—"that the day before I was forced in there against my will, and contrary to law, but that I would not go there again without

first being examined by the provost, or by their priest and elders of their church, or other chief officers in the town, and if then any thing appeared that I had broken any law, or done ought worthy of imprisonment, having a mittimus setting forth my crime, I would willingly suffer, and not refuse going; but without such an examination I refused to go there again, unless forced to it by violence, and that, I hoped, they would not be guilty of." At this one of the soldiers, taking his musket by the small end, and advancing the butt, said, "His countryman had spoken right, and what he said was according to law and justice, and ought to be observed as such, and therefore if you will," said he, "take him before the provost in order for examination, you may; but if not, touch him who dare."

At this bold attempt and speech they both left me, and I was advanced above the people about six or seven steps, and turning about to them, there being a little square before the door, surrounded with the guard chamber on one side, the tolbooth on the other, and a wall facing the street about four feet high, I had a good opportunity to speak to them, which I did about a quarter or near half an hour, and they were very quiet and civil; when I had done, and acknowledged the soldier's kindness and civility towards me, who said, it was his duty to do it, I came down the steps; the people crowded very close to see as well as hear me, but they divided soon, making a

lane for my passage, shewing me considerable respect in their way; some said, "You have dung them, Sir, you have dung them, Sir," meaning thereby I had obtained the victory. All was very quiet, save that one or more would have forced a horse over us, but was prevented by the rest; not the least unhandsomeness save that, appeared amongst them. Retiring to our inn, I was full of peace and comfort.

By this time the day was far spent, and concluding to stay that night, we ordered some refreshment to be got for us, for I found myself in want of it. It was soon got ready, and we invited our host to share it with us, who willingly did, shewing his good liking to what had been said. He added, that he never saw the people so struck and give such good attention, nor did he ever see so large a multitude that all heard so intelligibly down to the very foot of the hill, which was, as he supposed, not much less than two hundred yards in length; and I took, by computation, the street to be upwards of thirty yards wide, and all that space much crowded. I gave him a hint of his fear, putting him in mind that our duty, in preaching to that multitude, could not possibly have been discharged by preaching to him and his family, and he acknowledged it was right in us to do as we did.

By this time the evening closed in, and sundry gentlemen sent word that they would gladly pay us a visit if we would permit it. The landlord, I saw, earnestly desired that we would; he had a very

large room, into which we went, and they soon came to us, and quickly fell into conversation, for they were very full of talk about religion, and very tenacious in their opinions upon it. The first article of dispute was about the rule of faith and practice; this was argued (*pro* and *con*) between them and our guide Samuel Robinson, near half an hour, who was a very sensible religious young man, and had a good share of learning also; but I found they made nothing of it. Our opponents would endeavour, in their way, to make out the scriptures to be the only rule of faith, and that the spirit we professed to be guided by must be subordinate to the text. I hitherto had said nothing, but now desired a few words by way of question, the answering of which might bring this dispute to a point. "I thought not," said I, "that I should take the argument from my friend Robinson, whom I take to be more capable of supporting it than I am." All were very willing to hear me; then I began to state the difference between us, thus; "We all agree," said I, "that the scriptures is a rule of faith and practice, do we not?" this was granted. "The difference lies here then, if I take it right; we say it is a rule; you say it is the only rule—this is the point in dispute, is it not?" this was likewise granted me; then I proceeded thus, "Allowing what you say to be true, it must be considered that all instrumental rules are made, whether they relate to spiritual or temporal affairs, and must be contrived

and adapted to answer the end for which they are made;" this was allowed also. "And as the text is a rule made, contrived, and adapted for spiritual affairs, who made it so? since the text could not make itself." Here was a long pause; at last one replied, "Holy men wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost." Here was a pause again: "Is this your mind?" said I; "It is the plain words of the text," said another. "Granting this, then it must, by your admission, be allowed that the Spirit gave forth or made the scriptures, by the medium of holy men, therefore the Spirit gave forth the text; now judge you, whether a rule made or the author that made that rule be subordinate?" There was a pause for a little while, and one of the company said, "You are dung, you are dung," (meaning they had lost the victory), "the scriptures must be subordinate to the Spirit that gave them forth." I replied thus, "We believe concerning the text, that it is a rule, and the best external rule we have; but the Spirit, which gave it us by the medium of holy men, is the principal rule of faith and practice." Thus this debate ended, and they started another about baptism, but that was soon ended; our friend Robinson was an over match for them by far about it. Then they had a few words about the bread and wine; that held but little time, for they allowed these ceremonies to be external parts of religion. Then they came to preaching, and stated the question thus, "Our own

teachers, we know how they come by their ministry, and by what authority they preach, (meaning their learning, and the laying on of the hands, as they term it, of the presbytery at their ordination, &c.) but we want to know how your preachers come by their ministry, and by what authority they preach?" Here our friend reasoned with them some time, but they either could not, or would not be convinced by his words, so he told the company plainly, "that he never did preach, and therefore would leave it to them that did, to give account how they came by it themselves."

I was, all the time they discussed this affair, under a great concern, fearing how we might come off, but when Samuel Robinson had laid the matter so justly and fairly at our door, there was so considerable a space of silence, that they expected nothing from us, but began other discourse, until I could no longer withhold; and bespeaking their silence and attention was willing to relate to them how I came by my ministry; at which they listened with close attention. Then I premised thus, as an introduction before I came to the matter itself, "Although in the thread of my discourse something might appear liable to an objection, I intreated the favor of them all to hear me out, by reason that what I might say afterwards would perhaps solve their objections, without giving me or themselves any interruption;" which, with one voice, they all assented to, as a reasonable

and just request: I then proceeded with my narrative as follows:—

"My father was a cordwainer, that lived by his small trade of making shoes, who died before I was a month old, and left my mother a small patrimony to live on of about four pounds a year, to keep herself, me, and one son more, who was about seven years old when my father died; my mother gave me a religious education in this same way: when I was fit to go to school, I was sent thither until I was ten or twelve years old, and then was taken from school and put to keep sheep; my earnings, though very small, gave some assistance to my mother, who had bound my brother an apprentice; but I was kept close to attend the flock when wanted, and afterwards put an apprentice to a blacksmith. I still went to our own meetings, but did not understand the rudiments of that religion I was trained up in, but was addicted to the pleasures of the times; and when I went to meeting, knew not how to employ my thoughts, and often, yea very often, the greatest part of the meeting, for want of a proper employment of thought, I spent in sleeping; for the preaching, which was pretty much, was what I did not understand; thus two or three years of my apprenticeship I spent with very little sense of God or religion. But it so happened that a young woman came to visit our meeting, and in her preaching seemed to direct her words to me, which were these, or to the same effect; 'A traditional quaker, thou goest from the meeting as thou came to

it; and thou comes to it as thou went from it, having no profit by doing so, but what wilt thou do in the end thereof?' These words were so suited to my then state that I was pricked to the very heart, crying out in secret, 'Lord how shall I mend it? I would willingly do it if I knew how;' a voice in my breast replied, 'Look unto me and thou shalt find help.'

"From that time forward I found it true, that, what is known of true religion is revealed within; and relying on the Lord, who began thus to reveal his power in me, and let me see that I must depend on him for strength and salvation, the scriptures seemed to be unsealed and made clear to my understanding; such as, being 'born from above,' and that which is to be known of God is made manifest in us, and also that text which says, 'the kingdom of God is within.' The Lord opened my understanding by his Spirit, to see the proper qualification and call of true ministers, that it was not external but internal, and the heart must first be sanctified, before the divine anointing could be expected.

"Thus for some time I went on in my religious duties with great success, and I found I gained much in spiritual and divine knowledge; and as I was going to meeting on that day commonly called Sunday, it came into my mind, that if I was watchful and obedient, carefully minding to keep my place, and to that guide I was now acquainted with, I should be made a teacher of others. I proceeded on my way to

meeting, and having sat down therein, in a short time I felt the power of the spirit strong upon me, to speak a few sentences, but oh! the reasoning and excuses that I formed in my weak mind that I might be spared from this work some time longer, and the weight seemed to be taken from me for that time. But oh! the trouble and uneasiness which I afterwards went through, made me enter into covenant that if ever the like offer was made me, I would give up to the heavenly vision.

"The trouble of my mind affected my countenance so much, that it gave my master (being of the same way) reason to examine me how it was. I gave him a candid account, withal adding my fear that my offence was so great I should be rejected as a castaway; but he comforted me by urging various examples of the like kind, for my encouragement, not doubting that, at the next meeting, the same concern would come upon me, and to which he advised me to give up, with a sympathizing spirit of love, in various and comfortable exhortations confirmed by scripture examples. As he had said, the next meeting, before I had sat there an hour and a half, the same concern came upon me, which was this; (and I had now to deliver the same words with the same authority as I did when in that meeting); 'Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear him who is able to destroy both body and soul in hell. I say, fear you him who will

terribly shake the earth, that all which is moveable may be shaken and removed out of the way; and that which is immoveable may stand.' This was the first appearance, in words above said, that I made in public as a preacher."

By this time I found that the power of the gospel was over them, by their wiping their eyes, and I was assisted to go on with strength of argument and demonstration, further adding, "That then I had near three years of my time to serve, which I did with great faithfulness to my master; and before the time was expired, preaching a little at times, but not very frequently, yet to the great satisfaction of my brethren, I found a concern upon me to travel as a minister, and I acquainted my master therewith, who had been as a father to me. He told me, before I went on that errand I must acquaint the elders therewith, and lay it before the monthly meeting." Here I enlarged on the peculiar end of those meetings, setting forth the services thereof, to take care of our poor, and to deal with offenders who were a scandal by their ill conduct to their profession, and sundry other matters cognisable in those meetings.

I then proceeded,—"On my concern being laid before the monthly meeting, they would judge whether it was right, and give me a letter of recommendation or certificate to signify their unity and satisfaction therein; this I did accordingly, and with some very suitable advice to my then present

infant state as a minister, they gave me a certificate or a letter of recommendation, and signed it in the meeting, as is usual in such cases. I accomplished that journey, and was at my return, called upon to give account thereof, and to deliver up my certificate.

" A short time afterwards, I had another journey before me, and by our discipline, or church government, was obliged to go to the same meeting for a fresh certificate, which was readily granted; the brethren rejoiced at my improvement, advising me to render the honor thereof where due. At my return I was obliged to attend the said meeting, and give account of my travels as before; this practice amongst us is judged needful, lest any one should swerve from their first foundation, and undertake to preach without a right commission, and so impose upon our friends who know them not.

" In a little time I was concerned to take another journey, and laid before the said meeting my concern as above said, and had a certificate. At my return I gave account as before, and delivered my certificate. After which I had another concern to visit this nation in this very journey, and laid my concern before the meeting, which readily granted me a certificate," and pulling it out of my pocket-book said, " and there it is." One of the company took it, and, at the desire of the rest, read it up, and it was returned to me with a profound silence; so I proceeded to add, " That I had visited all that kingdom, where I found

drawings in my spirit to go, and this, so far as I yet see, is the last place. And now I must leave you to judge, whether it is not reasonable for you to conclude, at least that I think myself concerned by an almighty power, else how could I have exposed myself to such an unruly mob as I have preached to this day?"

Here I stopped, and one in the company asked if all our preachers came by their ministry in the same way? to which I replied, "I could not give account how another man might receive his ministry, but I have given you a faithful and candid account how I received mine."

Here my companion was full of matter to relate, by giving them an account how he came by his ministry; but let in a fear that what he might add would hurt the cause. One of the company said, "what we have heard is enough," and so he was handsomely excused.

The night, by the time this was over, was far spent, it being some time past the middle; a reckoning was called, and they would not allow us to pay any part thereof, but took leave of us with great affection: the country gentleman who assisted in procuring our liberty gave us a very kind invitation to his house, which we received very thankfully; but, being engaged in our minds for England, had not freedom to go with him, so we parted in a very loving and friendly manner. We being now left to

ourselves, I had an opportunity to reflect on what had passed, and to examine my whole conduct all that day—a practice I frequently used after a more than common day's service; and, indeed, after every opportunity of an enlargement in my gift; by experience, finding the best instructor in my own bosom, to shew where I hit the matter or missed it. On considering why I began so low as my father, setting forth my manner of education and trade, which seemed to have no relation to my call to the ministry, I saw the reason thereof and found it to be this:—that they might not think my ministry to have, in the least, any dependence upon literature,—a qualification much depended on for the work of the ministry among them: and some of them will not take any notice of any other sort, if a man—for they will not admit a woman to have any part in this work—be he never so divinely qualified by the spirit, yet, if he want human learning, it is all nothing with them. Thus the wisdom of truth, which I did not see so plainly at first, appeared to my understanding very clearly; and, on a close and narrow inspection into this day's work, I found inward peace, a joy spring in my heart that I could not set forth by words; my companion too had more ease and true content than I feared he could have, by reason of his not coming up in his service, to let the company know how he came by his ministry, and by what authority he preached.

I have been more particular in the relation of this day's work than I otherwise should have been, as containing in it such signal marks of providence. First,—that we should be detained in hold just till the people from the country were come in. Secondly,—and then set at liberty to say what the Lord gave us. And thirdly,—that we had so seasonable an opportunity to explain our practice as to the ministers, viz.—the conduct of the society towards them; and likewise the service of our monthly meetings respecting the poor, marriages, admonishing offenders, making up differences, granting of certificates to such as saw cause to remove themselves from one monthly meeting to another, as well as to ministers; which, by their shewing so much kindness, and raising no objection to anything said on these heads, did plainly demonstrate their good liking and satisfaction therewith.

The next morning we set out for England, and by the evening got among friends in the Border, within the compass of Sowport meeting, and had some few meetings, as at the Border, Scotby, Carlisle, and some other places. I came to my old master's Samuel Parrat's, having no place to retire to as a home; but sometimes I was at Sedgwick, and sometimes quartered with my friend Robert Chambers, and sometimes at Kendal, and at Gateside, at honest William Simpson's, where I did occasionally help them in their business, he being a blacksmith.

I was now preparing myself for a journey into America, and was near ready, and I had an opportunity to take my leave of the neighbouring meetings, as Dent, Garsdale, Sedberg, Grayrigg, Kendal, Preston, with divers other neighbouring meetings thereabouts; but that at Preston was the most memorable and solid, the sense whereof continued, at times, with me all over America. I went thence to Yealand, and many friends came to that meeting from divers places to take leave of me: so that it was a very large and living meeting, and I parted with my brethren in great love and unity. I then came by Wray, Bentham, Settle, and Airton,—where that great and good man William Ellis was then living, and full of power, having great and solid experience concerning the ministry, who was very edifying to me, by the wholesome counsel he gave. James Wilson was then with me, who was not at that time a public minister; yet of great service in visiting families, being closely engaged in spirit for the maintaining good order and discipline; and we being both very young in these things, this worthy friend gave such advice to us both, with respect to a faithful coming up in our services, that we could with good reason say that his words were like apples of gold in pictures of silver. For a long time after the sense and virtue of them dwelt on my mind to my great advantage. We stayed with him one night, and had a small meeting; in which the preference and value I had

for him, together with an awe that was on my spirit concerning his great services and experience as a minister, took such place in my mind, that I was silent before him.

Next day we took our leave, and he brought us a short distance on our way, heartily praying at parting, that I might be preserved in my place, and return with safety.

James Wilson came with me as far as Leeds, and then we parted, and I went through Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, visiting sundry meetings, (where some time before I had met with great trials and afflictions in mind, as already hinted) and some were convinced; my mind was strongly engaged to see them in my way, and I had good satisfaction in that visit.

Having done this, I went by the way of Hitchin and Hertford, visiting sundry meetings, finding encouragement to go on: but I still expected that I should be stopped by the morning meeting, for want of a companion. I came to London the latter end of the tenth month, 1701, being by letters advised the ships would sail in a week's time, or very shortly; but a war breaking out between England and France, an embargo was laid on all shipping for two months, so that there was no expectation of getting off. I staid in London about three weeks, visiting all the meetings in and about the city, which gave the

brethren a thorough taste of my service; some of my best friends advised, that I should not lay my concern before the meeting, that I designed for America, until the general or monthly meeting of ministers should occur, and in that time my service as a minister would be generally known. I readily complied, and when the time came, I went in great fear to lay my concern before that meeting, being still apprehensive I should not be permitted to proceed, for want of a suitable companion; but as no objection arose, they perused the certificates that I had from the monthly and quarterly meetings, and did well approve thereof; and a minute was made, appointing some friends to prepare a certificate against the next meeting; which was accordingly done, brought there, and signed.

All things now being clear for my going the first opportunity, it was thought proper to see for a ship, which by the assistance of some friends was done, but no likelihood of going quickly, in consequence of the embargo.

I had some desire to visit the west, in particular Dorset, Somerset, Bristol, and Wilts, but at a loss for a horse, having sold my own soon after I came to London; but the friend to whom I sold him, offered that I should have him that journey, which I accepted, and so set out, having in company a young man that had been bred at a college; his name was Samuel

Crisp, a pretty meek spirited youth, and rightly convinced. When we got forty or fifty miles from London, he had strong inclinations to go back. I made a kind of a running visit; and when I was at Bristol, my friends there were exceedingly kind, and would willingly have had me gone from thence, but my prior engagement in London would not permit it.

I staid there two weeks at least, and taking my leave, sundry friends brought me on my way to Bath, Bradford, &c. They returned, and I went on for London, and quartering at an inn at Hungerford, (not being easy to take any more meetings till I came to the city) I fell in company with two tradesmen, who, when we sat down to supper, complimented each other as to who should crave a blessing; at last they pulled off their hats, and one of them did it in some sort; but my sitting with my hat on was such an offence, that they began to reprove me very sharply; I said but very little for some time, until they had spent their reproach upon me, and then I spoke to this effect; "that the appearance they made just before supper was brought to the table, was so very void of grace in their hearts, that I could not think it my place to take off my hat to their formal prayer; and besides, as soon as the words were out of their mouths, it appeared to me that they were the same, and I saw by their conduct that they did not understand the nature of true

prayer, which is to be performed both with the spirit and understanding; and if they had not wanted both, they would not have passed such silly compliments on each other about it." I was now very quiet, and they said no more to me; but as soon as supper was over, and the reckoning paid, they left me with free consent, for our company was unsuitable.

Next day I went towards London by Newbury, where I stopt at a funeral, and so to Reading, and by Maidenhead to the city, but found the embargo not yet taken off. It being now pretty near the middle of the first month, I visited some parts of Hertfordshire, having my dear friend John Tompkins part of the time, and Samuel Crisp, who was a sweet companion, having received the knowledge of the truth the right way.

About a week or two in the second month, orders were given for the merchants to get ready, and a convoy was to go with them; but for all this, it was the latter end of the third month before we got off; so I had an opportunity to visit the greatest part of Kent. And after we sailed from the Downs, we were put into Portsmouth harbour by contrary winds, and lay there two or three weeks, which was very tiresome. All this time I never considered any danger of being taken by the French; it did not so much as enter into my mind, until I came into Philadelphia, where, hearing that Thomas Story, Richard

Groves, and others, were taken some time before, and carried into Martinico, a French island, I thought of it more closely.

I left England in the third month, 1702, about the time of the yearly-meeting, with inward satisfaction and peace of mind, and wrote a few lines to be sent to the meeting of ministers in Kendal, or elsewhere, in Westmoreland, my native place; which I here insert, being the first fruits of that kind to my brethren.

"TO THE MEETING OF MINISTERS AT KENDAL IN WESTMORELAND.

"My dearly beloved brethren and sisters,

"In that love which in time past we have enjoyed together, do I heartily salute you, having in mind some few things to impart, as counsel and caution to us all, including myself therein.

"We who apprehend ourselves called into this public station of preaching, ought closely to wait on our guide, to put us forth in the work. And, dear friends, I see great need for us carefully to mind our openings, and go on as we are led by the spirit; for if we over-run our guide and openings, we shall be confused, not knowing where, or how to conclude. But if we begin and go on with the Spirit, we shall conclude so, and all who are truly spiritual will sensibly feel that we are right; thus will our ministry edify those who hear it.

"And, dear friends, let us be singly and in sincerity devoted to the will of God, whether to preach or to be silent, for if we are not sensible of such a resignation, it is doubtful, that we may set ourselves to work, when we should be quiet, and so bring an uneasiness upon our friends, and a burden upon ourselves: and this conduct will shut up friends' hearts against our service and ministry. And, my dear friends, every time you appear in the ministry, when it is over, examine yourselves narrowly, whether you have kept in your places, and to your guide; and consider, whether you have not used superfluous words, that render the matter disagreeable, or such tones and gestures as misbecome the work we are about, always remembering, that the true ministers preach not themselves, but Christ Jesus our Lord. Let us bear this in mind, that neither arts, parts, strength of memory, nor former experiences will, without the sanctification of the spirit, do any thing for us to depend upon; let us, therefore, I entreat you, keep to the living fountain, the spring of eternal life, opened by our Lord Jesus Christ in our hearts.

"I also desire, that you would not neglect your day's work, in visiting the dark corners of the counties about you, but be mindful of your service therein, as the Lord shall make way for it.

"The things above written have been on my mind to communicate to you, my dear friends, with desires

that the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with your spirits—Amen. Hoping also, that I shall not be forgotten by you, in your nearest approaches to the throne of grace, in your supplications to the God of the spirits of all flesh; remembering me, that I may be preserved by sea, and in the wilderness, through the many and various exercises and baptisms, that I may be suffered to undergo for the service's sake; and that I may be preserved in humility and self-denial, under the power of the cross, the most beautiful ornaments a minister can ever be clothed with, that if it please him we should meet again, our joy may then be full in the Holy Ghost, which is the fervent prayer of your exercised friend and brother,

"SAMUEL BOWNAS."

This was written in the second month, 1702, and left with my friend John Tompkins, not to send it until he heard I had left home.

CHAPTER III.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS FIRST VISIT TO AMERICA IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY.

As advised by the friends who were appointed to assist me, I took my passage on board the *Josiah*, John Snowden master, bound for West-River in Maryland, and we left England about the 24th of third month, 1702, and landed in the river Potomac in Maryland, about the 29th of the fifth month following.

I visited some meetings in that province, but George Keith being there, and challenging disputes wherever he came, gave both me and friends some exercise; to me, by challenging a dispute without my previous knowledge, in the following terms:—

"TO THE PREACHER LATELY ARRIVED FROM ENGLAND.

"SIR,

"I intend to give notice after sermon, that you and myself are to dispute to-morrow, and would have you give notice thereof accordingly.

"Sir, I am your humble servant,

"GEORGE KEITH."

"*Dated the 1st Sunday in August*, 1702."

He wrote this in consequence of an honest friend's speaking sharply to him, and giving him the title of an apostate, adding, she could not pretend to dispute with him, but a friend who was to be at their meeting on first day next (meaning me), she did not doubt would talk with him. "Well then," said Keith, "next Monday let him come, and I will prove him and all the Quakers, unsound both in faith and principle;" with more of that kind. The honest woman being warm, and zealous for the cause, replied, "He will not be afraid of thee, I am sure."

The messenger that brought the letter delivered it in haste, as he was ordered, to John Falkner, a young man from Scotland, who was then store-keeper in the employ of Benjamin Brains and Company. We were just then a considerable number of us in company, going to a meeting at Chester in the woods, some distance from any house, and John insisted on my writing an answer, adding, Keith would call the country together, and make much noise about it, as if we were afraid, &c. and it was best to nip his expectation in the bud; and as we knew nothing of the conference Keith had with the woman friend two days before, I wrote as follows;—

"George Keith,

"I have received thine, and think myself no way obliged to take any notice of one that hath

been so very mutable in his pretences to religion; besides, as thou hast long since been disowned, after due admonition given thee by our yearly-meeting in London, for thy quarrelsome and irregular practices, thou art not worthy of my notice, being no more to me than a heathen man and a publican,—is the needful from

"SAMUEL BOWNAS."

"*Dated the same day.*"

John Falkner carried my answer, and we went to our meeting, being at Chester, in Maryland, as aforesaid; by the time the meeting was fully gathered, John Falkner came back, and we had a comfortable meeting. Afterwards John Falkner told us, George Keith read my letter publicly amongst his company, appearing very angry at the contents of it, and the company laughed very heartily, many of them being much pleased with it. J. Falkner then came out of the company, and a substantial planter followed him, and told him he had much rather go with him to our meeting, than to hear George Keith rail and abuse the quakers, but he being in the commission of the peace, must (as Keith was recommended by the Bishop of London) shew some respect; withal adding, that John Falkner should bring me to his house to dine the next day. This John Falkner would have excused, urging, that as they had a value

for me, sundry friends would be for bringing me on my way farther; adding, we should incommode his house. He urged it the more, saying, we should all be welcome. Accordingly several went with me there, and he was very kind, giving us an account of George Keith's railing against us the day before, and how disagreeable it was to the assembly. Keith left a broad sheet printed, wherein he pretended to prove the quakers no christians, out of their own books. I had an answer thereto in print, which friends were glad of, and I left with them several to spread where he had left his.

After we had dined, we took our leave, and a friend, my guide, went with me, and brought me to a people called Labadies, by whom we were civilly entertained in their way. When supper came in, it was placed upon a long table in a large room, where, when all things were ready, came in, at a call, about twenty men or upwards, but no woman: we all sat down, they placing me and my companion near the head of the table, and having paused a short space, one pulled off his hat, but not the rest till a short space after; they then one after another pulled all their hats off, and in that uncovered posture sat silent (uttering no words that we could hear) near half a quarter of an hour; and as they did not uncover atonce, so neither did they cover themselves again at once; but as they put on their hats, commenced

eating, not regarding those who were still uncovered, so that about two minutes might have elapsed between the first and last putting on of their hats. I afterwards queried with my companion concerning the reason of their conduct, and he gave this for answer, that they held it unlawful to pray till they felt some inward motion for the same, and that secret prayer was more acceptable than to utter words; and that it was most proper for every one to pray, as moved thereto by the spirit in their own minds.

I likewise queried, if they had no women amongst them? He told me they had, but the women eat by themselves, and the men by themselves, having all things common, respecting their household affairs, so that none could claim any more right than another to any part of their stock, whether in trade or husbandry; and if any had a mind to join them, whether rich or poor, they must put what they had in the common stock, and if they afterwards had a mind to leave the society, they must likewise leave what they brought, and go out empty handed.

They frequently expounded the scriptures among themselves, and being a very large family, in all upwards of a hundred men, women and children, carried on something of the manufactory of linen, and had a very large plantation of corn, tobacco, flax, and hemp, together with cattle of several kinds. But at my last going there, these people were all scattered and

gone, and nothing of them remained of a religious community in that shape.

I left this place and travelled through the country to Philadelphia, and was there seized with fever and ague, which continued with me about thirteen weeks. I staid there till the yearly meeting came on, which was very large, but my disorder of the ague would not permit my being at one meeting. George Keith with his companions came, but the disturbance they gave was a considerable advantage to friends, and the meeting ended to great satisfaction.

Being recovered and pretty strong, I left Pennsylvania, and travelled through east and west Jersey. I had given expectation to a friend, one James Miller in Scotland, who had a sister married to one of the Barclay's family, that if I came near where she dwelt, I would visit her at his request. She was a very zealous honest friend, but her husband had joined with Keith, and left friends; and on enquiring about her, where she dwelt, I was told it would be very little out of my way. Then a young man offered to be my guide, to pay her a visit; and when we came to the house, there were sundry priests with others, met to sprinkle an infant, the said Barclay's grandchild. The ceremony was over before we got there, we coming from Shrewsbury yearly meeting, where Keith also had been, but gave us no disturbance, nor did he come to our meeting at all,

but held a meeting a small distance from us for two days, and then went off. Our meeting held three days, and was thought to be larger than usual, it being expected that George Keith would be there. It ended well, and it was said, some were convinced at that meeting.

But to return to my friend Barclay; she was in an apartment by herself, and gave me a short account of what they were or had been doing; saying, "They have sprinkled the babe my grandchild, and the ceremony is over, but they have not yet been to dinner;" to which she added, "my husband will be earnest for thy company; if thou hast freedom to go, I shall leave thee at liberty, but if thou refusest to go, they will be ready to report, that thou durst not face them." She added, "I should be pleased with your company (meaning me and my companion) to dine with me, but it will be best, I think, for you to dine with them, and I hope, the Lord will give you wisdom to conduct yourselves, that they may have no just cause to reproach the principle on your account." She had no sooner ended, than (as she had suggested) her husband came, and after some compliments, and enquiry about his brother-in-law James Miller, and relations at Ury, we were called to dinner, and by no means would he excuse me: we went in, and the mistress of the feast, the mother of the babe then sprinkled, would have me sit at her right hand, and

set George Keith at her left. We all sat down, and after a short pause, George Keith stood up with all the rest of the company, save me and my companion. We kept our places, and hats on, while he repeated a long prayer for the church and state, bishops, and all the inferior clergy, the Queen, and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, &c. The grace being ended, the mistress carved, and would serve me first; I would have refused, and put it to George Keith, but he refused it likewise. When she had done helping us and herself, she began to catechise me in the following manner.

After enquiring about her relations at Ury in Scotland, and her uncle Miller, she then desired to know my business in Scotland, pretending to suppose me a merchant who dealt in linen to sell in England; but I saw her design was to lead me to some unwary answer, for Keith and the rest to find matter of objection to. This put me upon my guard, to reply cautiously: I freely owned I had no concern in buying or selling any sort of goods. "Pray then, sir, what was your calling there?" I replied, that "I thought it my place sometimes to advise my friends and others, to endeavour so to live, that death, when it comes, might not be a terror to them; and I doubt not but thou wilt count this a good work, and needful to be done." She readily allowed, that it was very needful, and the more so, for that the age was now very

wicked. Then she proceeded to query the reason of my coming into those parts, pretending to suppose it was on account of trade, as being a supercargo, with sundry trifling and impertinent questions, as when I was in such and such places? to all which I gave her answers to the same effect as before, that my designed business was the same in this country as in Scotland. Then she proceeded to more trifling questions, as when I landed? and where? and which way I was going? All the company at table gave ear to our dialogue, which appeared to me very weak in such a learned company as they thought themselves to be, and none so much as put in a word between us. Dinner being ended, I desired to be excused, for that time called me away, and my friends would wait for me at the Ferry, which we had to pass that evening. Thus Keith and I met and parted.

Then, taking leave, I went to see my worthy friend in her own apartment, with whom we had a short, but very agreeable opportunity. We took our leave and went to Woodbridge, where the next day we had a meeting; George Keith preached at Amboy the same day, which places are not far apart. We often interfered one with the other, but he no more gave me any challenge to dispute, but took another method to put a stop to my travelling, as will appear afterwards. We came to Long Island, and a meeting was appointed for me at a small village called

Hempstead, where George Keith also was, either by accident or design, and had at the same time appointed to preach within our hearing, and between two appointments, there was a very large gathering. I was young and strong, and my voice was plainly heard by the people who were with Keith, so that they all left his meeting and came to ours, (for we had room enough for both meetings, it being held in a very large barn) except he that officiated as clerk, and one William Bradford, who had been a printer for friends at Philadelphia, but deserting the society, friends took the business from him. Some time after, Keith and the said Bradford agreed that Bradford should come and try if no advantage might be taken at my doctrine; accordingly he came, and pulled out of his pocket a small book, with pen and ink, and steadfastly stared in my face, to put me out of countenance if he could; but I was above being daunted at that time, though at other times very incident to it. He opened his said book and wrote about two lines in it, then shut it again, continuing his staring, to try (as some thought) whether he could not daunt me; but it was past his skill, for I felt both inward and outward strength, and divine power to fill my heart, and my face was like brass to all opposition. He opened his book, wrote about two lines more, and a little after about two more, in the whole about six lines in a small octavo leaf;

and after I had done he stood up and said, "Will you stand by these doctrines in public that have been now preached?" (meaning by public dispute). A worthy friend, John Rodman by name, desired him to be quiet, and after meeting was ended he should be answered. Accordingly the meeting concluded, and he waited for his answer. To which friend Rodman said, "William, thou knowest what our friend hath been concerned to speak about this day, are such points as have been, by the press, argued again and again; and as the controversy has been some years in the press, it is, therefore, needless, at this time of day, to reduce it to a verbal dispute." But he wanted to hear what I would say to the matter, and I told him, his questions being more for contention than edification, I did not think myself obliged to answer them; more especially, since, for his contentions and disorderly walking, he had been dealt with and advised in a brotherly and christian spirit to repent; but his persisting in the same, had obliged his friends to disown him, "and, for this reason," I said, "I have no more to say to thee on that head." He turned from me, and in a very angry manner said, I should hear of it in another way. But I called him back, having something to say on another subject; which was to deliver some tokens of gold, sent his wife by her sister from London. This somewhat softened him,

(he finding the pieces to agree with the letter, which I requested might be opened before my friends there), and brought him to confess, that he believed I was a very honest man, and he was sorry I should be under such a delusion, as to be in communion with that erroneous people. But at his return to Keith, they laid their heads together, and trumped up the following depositions from what he had written as aforesaid, viz.—

"I, William Bradford, of the city of New York, aged about forty years, depose upon the holy evangelists. The 21st of November, 1702, going into the quaker's meeting, at Nathaniel Pearsal's, deceased, in Hempstead, I heard one Bown, that is lately come out of England, preach, and the first words I heard him say were, 'the sign of the cross.' And thus,—'Friends, having gone through the papist baptism, let us examine the church of England. Well, what do they do? Why the bishop lays his hands upon those that have learned the languages, and ordains them to be ministers. Well, and what do they do? Why, they baptize the children, the young children, and sprinkle a little water in their faces, and by this they make the child a christian, as they say, and for so doing, the children's parents must give the priest fourpence, or a groat; indeed this is an easy way of making christians for a groat! And how do they do this? Their own catechism

tells us, the priest says to the child, what is thy name? The child answers, Thomas, James, Mary, &c. Well, and who gave thee this name? The child answers, my godfathers and godmothers in my baptism, wherein I was made a member of Christ. This is brave to be made a member of Christ! Who would not have a little water sprinkled in their faces? And what did your godfathers and godmothers then for you? Answer, they did promise and vow three things in my name; firstly, that I should renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. Ay! did they so? this is brave. Well, what did they promise more? Secondly, that I should keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of my life. And yet in contradiction to this, they plead for sin term of life, and say they cannot keep God's commandments in this life. Why, this is strange that the godfathers and godmothers should promise what they believe they cannot perform. And do the godfathers and godmothers thus promise? yes, they do. But this is strange, that their God should need a godfather and godmother. But, friends, our God is the true and living God: in the first of John it is said, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was God.' But this God had no need of a godfather or godmother. Well, and what do the presbyterians do? Why they baptize

their infants also; but as I take it, they do not make use of godfathers and godmothers, nor the sign of the cross: they have thrown away that piece of popery.

"'Next, as to the Lord's supper, I shall speak very brief. Christ says, that which goes in at the mouth defiles not. So I shall make this application; the bread and wine which they receive, and call the Lord's Supper, goes in at the mouth, and so into the draught, and profits not. They call it a sign, yea, and an empty sign it is. But by these ways and forms the hirelings deceive the people; but we have had sufficient proof of these hirelings in our day; for they will turn with every wind, and every turn that will answer their priests' ends, as we have seen fulfilled largely in our day.'"

Coram nobis. "WILLIAM BRADFORD."

"EDWARD BURROWS,
"JOSEPH SMITH, } Justices.

"*A true copy by* THOMAS CARDALL, *High Sheriff.*"

Having patched up the above deposition in their own way and manner, and form of expression, Keith informs, and Bradford was his evidence; and being at a loss for want of another evidence to confirm Bradford's (without which they could not proceed), they met with a young man who had been there, and Keith got some words out of him, which he said he heard spoken. They then threatened, if he did not

come in for evidence to what he had heard, what they would do to him; therefore he was prevailed on through fear, to give his evidence on oath, in the words George Keith had got from him by guile, before the said two justices, which he did as follows, although to no purpose.

"Richard Smith, aged about twenty-eight years, deposeth upon the four evangelists, that on Sunday last, he, this deponent, was at a quaker's meeting in Hempstead, where he heard a man preach, whose name he since understands is Samuel Bowne. In his preaching, he, this deponent, remembers to have heard him speak these words, or words to the like effect, viz., that the church of England in baptism, made use of godfathers and godmothers; but our God is the ever living God, and has no need of a godfather or godmother. And further this deponent saith not. "RICHARD SMITH."

Jurat 24th Die 9bris 1702, coram nobis.

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"EDWARD BURROWS, } Justices."

Having thus laid a foundation for a prosecution, a warrant was issued. A copy of which is as under.

"Queen's County. } JOSEPH SMITH, Esq. EDWARD BURROWS, Esq. Justices of the peace for Queen's County, to the High Sheriff of the County, greeting.

"You are hereby, in her Majesty's name, strictly charged and commanded, immediately on the receipt hereof, to attack the body of Samuel Bowne, a quaker, if he can be found in your bailwick, and to bring his body before us, to answer to such matters of misdemeanour, as shall on her Majesty's behalf be objected against him. And hereof fail not at your peril. Dated under our hands and seals this 24th November, 1702.

"*Vera copia ex. p.* J. SMITH,
"T. CARDALL, *vic.* E. BURROWS, } Justices."

Thus all things were ready to be put in execution, and sundry substantial people, not friends, would have had me gone off, but that I could not do; therefore, on the twenty-ninth of the same month, I was at Flushing in Long Island, it being the half-yearly meeting, which was very large, Keith being expected there. When the meeting was fully set, the high sheriff came with a very large company with him, who were all armed; some had guns, others pitchforks, others swords, clubs, halberts, &c., as if they would meet with great opposition in taking a poor silly harmless sheep out of the flock. The sheriff stepping up into the gallery, took me by the hand, and told me I was his prisoner. "By what authority?" said I: he pulled out his warrant, and shewed it me. I told him, "that warrant was to take up Samuel Bowne, and my name was not Samuel

Bowne, but that friend's name is so," pointing at the friend by me. "We know him," said he, "that is not the man, but you are the man; pray then," he continued, "what is your name?" "That," replied I, "is a question which requires consideration, whether proper to answer or not, for no man is bound to answer to his own prejudice; the laws force none to accuse himself." Thus we pro'd and con'd a little time, and I got up from my seat, and John Rodman, Samuel Bowne, and sundry other friends, and walked out of the meeting, it not being proper to discourse there at that time; and they, on conversing with the sheriff, who, in his nature, was a very moderate man, having known friends in England, easily prevailed on him to stay the meeting, with all his retinue, and afterwards they would consider what was best to be done. They then willingly laid down their arms on the outside of the door, and came in, which increased the throng very much. The meeting was silent a considerable time, and the sheriff's company queried of one another privately, so as I heard it, "why I did not preach?" Others concluded that I should preach no more, being now a prisoner; "that is enough to silence him," said they: but finding the word like as a fire, I could no longer refrain, but standing up, I had a very agreeable service, both to myself and friends, with the rest of the company; the sheriff himself and his company also, spoke well

of it; it was the first day of the meeting, and the seventh day of the week.

After meeting was ended, sundry friends went to Samuel Bowne's to consult with the sheriff, and he, being very moderate, and in a very good humour, spoke very mild and courteously, blaming Keith and Bradford, and gave liberty that I should stay with my friends until fifth day following, there being two days of the meeting yet to come, and a funeral of a noted friend to be the day after it ended; the meeting increased, and the last was both the largest and most open; it was supposed there might have been near two thousand people the last day, but Keith did not come there.

Now the time for my appearance before the justices being come, several substantial friends went with me, and a great crowd of other people came to hear; but for want of the convenience of a large hall, which they might have had, but from the coldness of the season, as was pretended, the justices would not go into it, those who came were deprived of the opportunity, for want of room, of hearing my examination.

There were four justices, viz. Joseph Smith, Edward Burrows, John Smith, and Jonathan Whitehead. This last was a very moderate man, and endeavoured much to have set me at liberty: but they had a priest with them, who endeavoured to put the worst construction on every thing I said. Besides

they had shut up a man behind in a closet, to take in short hand the examination, that they might peruse the same to their own advantage; but the man was so very drunk, that he lost his papers going home, and a friend providentially found them, to their great disappointment and shame. Great enquiry was made about them among the people in vain.

Having done what they thought fit in examining me, they turned me and my friends out of the room, to consult what was to be further done; and after a little time, we were all called in, I to receive my doom, and my friends to hear it; and the clerk, as mouth of the court, said, "These honourable justices have agreed that you must enter into a two thousand pound bail, yourself in £1000, and two of your friends in £500 each, or else be committed to the common gaol." I answered, I could enter into no bond on that account. Here one of the justices queried, if the sum was too large? I answered, that was nothing to the matter, if as small a sum as three halfpence would do, I should not do it, it being a matter of such a nature, that I could by no means comply with. Then the last justice offered to be bound for me, in what sum they required. But not only I, but all my friends did oppose it with all our might; giving them, as well as him, the reason for it.

It growing late the court broke up, and this justice

begged that he might have me to his house, and he would see me forthcoming on the morrow; this they readily granted him, and they then adjourned till ten o'clock next day, giving their clerk orders to provide my mittimus by that time.

I went with my kind friend, the young justice, to his house, and found very good and kind entertainment, his wife being a very religious, tender-hearted friend, and took great care of me. Next morning, we met again, the mittimus was brought in, executed, and was as under.

"Queen's County. } JOSEPH SMITH, ESQ., EDWARD BURROWS, ESQ., JOHN SMITH, ESQ., & JONATHAN WHITEHEAD, ESQ. Justices of the Peace for Queen's County, &c. to the High Sheriff of Queen's County, greeting.

"We send you herewithal the body of Samuel Bownas, a quaker, brought before us this day, and charged with speaking scandalous lies of, and reflections against, the Church of England, as by law established, and other misdemeanours by him done and spoken at a public assembly in Hempstead in this county, on the 21st day of this instant, November. And therefore these are in behalf of her Majesty to command you, that immediately you receive the said Samuel Bownas, and him safely keep in the common gaol of this county, until that he shall be thence delivered by the due course of her Majesty's laws.

Dated under our hands and seals at Jamaica, this 30th day of November, in the second year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Anne, of England, &c. Anno Domini, 1702.

"A true copy by
THO. CARDALL."

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"EDWARD BURROWS,
"JOHN SMITH,
"JONATHAN WHITEHEAD."

Now I was delivered up a prisoner, and my friends left me, having first got me a good wholesome room, and a very good bed, taking care that I should want nothing necessary for life. This continued for three months; at the end of which a special commission of oyer and terminer, and general gaol delivery was given to John Bridges, Esq., chief justice of the province; Robert Miller, Esq., second; Thomas Willet, John Jackson, and Edward Burrows. And on the 26th day of the twelfth month, Bridges and Miller came, attended with much company, in great pomp, with trumpets and other music before them, to hold the said court; and about the fourth hour in the afternoon, they in the same order went into the court, which was held in the hall, read their commission, and called over the jury, to whom they gave an uncommon charge, adjourning till Monday, the 28th, at ten o'clock in the morning.

At the same time the court met, and proclamation was made as follows:—

Crier.—O yes! Silence on pain of imprisonment.

Called over the grand jury, consisting of twenty-two men, and charged them to retire to their chamber, and the attorney general should send them business.

The court adjourns.

Crier.—O yes! All manner of persons that have any business at this court of oyer and terminer, let them depart hence, and come to-morrow morning at eight o'clock, and they shall be heard.

Accordingly the grand jury retired, and had a bill of indictment sent them against me, but I could never get a copy of it first nor last. I had prepared sundry reasons to set Bradford's evidence aside, which are here omitted, they being pretty large. The grand jury, however, had the same before them, and they were of considerable weight with them. The 29th the court met.

Crier.—O yes! All manner of persons that have any business at this court of oyer and terminer, let them draw near, and they shall be heard.

The clerk ordered to call over the jury.

Richard Cornell, Foreman; Ephraim Goulding, John Clayer, Isaac Hicks, Robert Hubbs, Ridganell Mott, Theodorus Vanderwick, Samuel Denton, Jun., Joseph Mott, Richard Valentine, Nathaniel Cole, Jun, Joseph Dickenson, Isaac Doughty, Samuel Emery, John Smith, John Serin, John Oakey, Samuel Hallet,

Richard Alsop, John Hunt, James Clement, and William Bloodgood.

It was then demanded, what business the jury had to lay before the court? and they presented two bills, one against a woman for some misdemeanour, and the bill against me, both indorsed, "Ignoramus." Upon this the judge was very angry; the other justices on the bench being mostly presbyterians, said little or nothing to the matter, but he, addressing himself to the jury, said thus,—"Gentlemen, surely you have forgotten your oaths, and for so doing I could give you some hard names, but at present shall forbear: is this your verdict touching the quaker?" for they mattered not the other bill, if they could have had their ends on me.

The foreman said, "It is, sir."

Judge.—"I demand your reasons, why you have not found the bill against him?" meaning me.

One, whose name was James Clement, a bold man, well skilled in the law, answered, "We are sworn to keep the Queen's secrets, our fellows', and our own; and for that reason we declare no reasons."

Judge.—"Now Mr. Wiseman speaks, but I tell you, you are not so sworn, and I could find in my heart to lay you by the heels, and a fine upon your brethren."

Clement replied, he might if he pleased, but when it was done, it should be exposed with as much

expedition as the case would admit, in Westminster Hall; "for," adds he, "juries, neither grand nor petty, are to be menaced with threats of stocks or fines, but they are to act freely, according to the best of their judgments, on the evidence before them."

Now the judge, finding he had not children to deal with, altered his manner of address, and began to flatter, and requested that they would take back both bills, and resume their considerations upon them. On this the jury was divided in judgment, but at last they all consented, and then the court adjourned till nine o'clock the next day.

Met according to adjournment.

Crier.—"O yes! All manner of persons that have any business at the court of oyer and terminer, let them draw near and they shall be heard."

Crier.—"Call over the jury." This was done.

Judge.—"Foreman, how find you the bills?"

Foreman.—"As we did yesterday."

On which Bridges, in great wrath, charged them with obstructing the course of justice.

"Why?" says Clement, "Because we cannot be of the same mind as the court is? We would have you to know that we desire no other but that justice may take place."

The judge now threatened to lay Clement by the heels again. But Clement, no way daunted, told him, he might if he pleased; but if he did, he should hear of it in another place.

The clerk was now ordered to call over the jury by name, singly, to shew their reasons, why they could or could not find the bills. Sundry of them refused to say any more than, "That is our verdict." Others again, said, "How unreasonable, and against law it is, that the court should endeavour to perjure the jury, by revealing their secrets in the face of the country." However, it appeared after the examination of the jury, that seven were for finding the bill, and fifteen stood firm against them for the verdict, as signed by the foreman; which angered the judge to that degree, that he gave strict orders to keep me more close than before; threatening, "As justice cannot be here come at, I will send him back to London, chained to the man of war's deck,* like other vile criminals, with his crimes and misdemeanours along with him, which are of the highest nature and most dangerous consequence, as tending to subvert both church and state." When an account of this was brought me, I was under a great cloud, and the power of darkness so very strong upon me, that I desired death rather than life, fearing, that if I was so served, I should be an object of derision to all on board; and greatly doubting that I should not be able to bear the suffering which I must undergo in

* A man of war was then lying at York, ready to sail convoy for England.

such a case, with that decency and honour that was requisite in so good a cause. The friends left me alone, and I, having lost all my faith, which was still worse than being alone, I thought myself the most wretched among men, and scarcely able to live under it. At this crisis, an honest old man* named Thomas Hicks, who had been chief justice in the province some years, and well versed in the law, came to visit me, and on my standing up to shew my respects to him, he took me in his arms, saluting me with tears, thus expressing himself,—"Dear Samuel, the Lord hath made use of you as an instrument, to put a stop to arbitrary proceedings in our courts of justice, which have met with great encouragement, since his Lordship came here as governor; (meaning the Lord Cornbury, who oppressed people sorely). But there has never been so successful a stand made against it, as at this time: and now, they threaten to send you to England, chained to the man of war's deck: fear not, Samuel," added he, "they can no more send you there than they can send me; for the law, both here and in England, is such, that every criminal must be tried where the cause of action is; else, why in England do they remove criminals from one county to another, to take their trials where the

* He did not profess with us, but was almost one in principle.

offence was committed? but you may, after the judgment of the court is given against you, bring your appeal against that judgment; and you, securing the payment of such fees, as are commonly allowed in the like case, they dare not deny your appeal. But the judge frets because he cannot have his end against you: and besides, the governor is disgusted also, he expecting to have made considerable advantage by it; but the country's eyes are now opened, and you are not now alone, but it is the case of every subject; and they will never be able now to get a jury to answer their end, the eyes of the country are so clearly opened by your case. Had," continued he, "the presbyterians stood as you have done, they had not so tamely left their meeting-houses to the Church: but that people had never so good a hand at suffering in the case of conscience, as they had in persecuting others that differed from them." Here he blamed that people very much, for being so compliant to all the claims of the governor, although never so unreasonable and against law.

And this honest man, as if he had been sent by Divine commission, by his discourse, raised my drooping spirits, renewed my faith, and I was quite another man; and as he said, so it proved. They could not get the next jury to find the bill against me.

But to return; I could never get a copy of the

mittimus or indictment against me, but the judge gave the sheriff orders to keep me closer. I was accordingly put into a small room, made of logs, which had been protested against as an unlawful prison two years before; but that made no difference, I was locked up there, and my friends denied coming to me.

I was now advised to demand my liberty as a right due by law, and I did so; but it was denied me, without shewing any other reason, than that I might thank the grand jury for my then confinement. It was likewise thought proper to lay the case before the governor, by petition, and demand my liberty of him also; this petition is omitted for brevity's sake. All was, however, in vain, for they were resolved not to be so baffled by the country, they said, but they would bring me to justice. Keith also printed some sheets, pretending to open the eyes of the people, saying that I had reproached the church, the ordinances and government; aggravating the case to the highest. But what he printed with a design to make my case appear the worse, had quite the contrary effect upon the people, it being looked upon as no other than the product of envy and revenge against the quakers in general, and me in particular.

However the court was adjourned for six weeks; and finding myself more closely confined than before, and not knowing when or how it might end, I began

to be very thoughtful what method to take, not to be chargeable to my friends: and as I was full of thought on my pillow about the matter, it came into my mind to try if I could learn to make shoes. Applying myself, therefore, to a Scotch churchman in the neighbourhood, one Charles Williams, a good natured man, I made a proposal to buy a pair of shoes of him, cut out for me to make up, and to give him the same price as if made, desiring him also to let me have the materials and tools to go on with the work. I requested that he would be so kind as to shew me how to begin and proceed in it; acquainting him, at the same time, with my reason for so doing. He replied, "It is very honest and honourable in you: but," added he, "if one of our ministers were in the like state, they would think it too mean for them to take up such a diminutive practice, though it were for bread; and your friends perhaps will not like it." However, he readily fell in with me, that if I could get my bread with my own hands, it was most agreeable with Paul's practice; and accordingly next morning he brought me leather cut out, with materials and tools to work with, and under his direction I closed one of the upper leathers before he left me, and he put it on the last for me, and by night I finished that shoe. On his coming again to see me, he expressed his admiration at my performance, shewing me how to mend my faults in the second, which I finished the next day: he then supposed I had done something

at the trade before, but was mistaken. When I would have paid him, he refused it, and told me he would not take any money of me; so I proposed that if he would give the leather, I would give my work; and by consent we gave the shoes to a poor honest man that went on errands for us both. I had then more work of him, and he was so pleased with it, that he would allow me half pay for making it up, and was so forward to advance my wages in a few weeks, that unless I would take full pay, he cheerfully told me, I must look out for another master. I as pleasantly replied, I did not desire to change. "Well then," replied he, "I sell the shoes you make for as much as any of the like sizes in my shop."

I made such improvement in this business, that I could in a little time earn fifteen shillings per week, being three shillings (their money) for making a pair of large man's shoes, which was my chief work. Their shilling was about ninepence sterling. This new trade was of very great service to me, by both diverting body and mind; and finding I now could supply my own wants with my own hands, it gave me great ease indeed. Some friends however were uneasy that I should do it, supposing it would be to their dishonour; but others again were glad, and thought it a great honour to the cause of the gospel; and they rejoiced with thankful hearts that I succeeded so well.

Going on thus some weeks, my kind master came one morning, and did not bring so much work as before. I asked him the reason; adding pleasantly, "What! doth my credit sink, that I have no more work brought?" He, smiling, said, "It is not best to trust gaol birds too far, and I am now resolved you shall work no more for me after these I have now brought." "Why, what is the matter?" said I. He added, "You shall be a master as well as I." "How can that be?" said I. He replied, "You shall have leather of your own, and by doing that, you may get eight-pence, ten-pence, or a shilling a pair more profit than you do now." But I told him I had rather work journey-work for him than do so; for I knew not how to get leather and other materials, and when I had it, I was a stranger to the cutting it out. "Trouble not yourself about that," said he, "for I will do all this for you." And so he did with much cheerfulness, delighting to serve me effectually.

I went on thus for several months, and he came to me every day once or twice, and was a very cheerful pleasant-tempered man, but too much addicted to take delight in some of his neighbours' company, who too often were disguised with strong liquor, and he would often say, "If you were to continue here, I should overcome it, and I verily believe should be a sober quaker." I told him he must leave

the company he too much frequented; which he not observing, I heard afterwards they proved very hurtful to him. We had very often serious conversation about religion, and it appeared to me, he had been favoured with an enlightened understanding, and would confess, if there were any such thing as preaching Christ truly, it was amongst the quakers; for both churchmen, presbyterians, independents, and others, all preach themselves, and for their own advantage in this world; so that if there was no pay, there would be no preaching. He frequently attended our meetings for a time.

But to return to the proceedings of the court, which adjourned from the 4th day of the first month, 1702-3, for about six weeks, and so continued by several adjournments, till the last day of the eighth month following. The occasion of these adjournments was this; Judge Bridges was ill, and had been for some time declining, but was expected to be able to attend the service of the court, and take vengeance on me and the quakers, none being thought so fit for that work as he; yet he never did, but died some months before I was set at liberty.

I had in this time of confinement sundry visits, two of which were more remarkable than the rest. The first was by an Indian King, with three of his chief men with him; and the other by one John Rogers, from New London, and he staid with me

from the time he came about six days. Abstracts of both conferences are as follow.

I shall first take notice of the conference with the Indian King, as he styled himself; but his nation was much wasted and almost extinct, so that he had but a small people to rule. However, there was in him some marks of superiority above the other three who attended him, who shewed some regard to him as their sovereign.

This Indian, with these his attendants, came to visit me, and staid some time, enquiring the cause of my confinement. This I gave them an account of as intelligibly as I could, finding they understood English better than they could speak it. The conference was mostly between the king and me, the rest but very seldom putting in a word.

The king asked if I was a christian; I told him I was. "And are they," said he, "christians too that keep you here?" I said they professed themselves to be so. Then he and his company showed their surprise that one christian could do thus to another. He also inquired concerning the difference between me and them. I replied, it consisted of sundry particulars: first, my adversaries hold with sprinkling a little water on the face of an infant, using a form of words, and the ceremony of making the sign of a cross with their finger on the babe's forehead, calling this baptism, and urging it as essential

to future happiness; and I, with my brethren, can see no good in this ceremony. Here they talked one with another again, but I understood them not. After which they asked me if I thought there was nothing in this ceremony of good, to secure our future happiness. I said, "I see nothing of good in it." I was right, they said, "Neither do we," asking, "Wherein do you further differ from them?" I proceeded, that they held it needful to take, at certain times, a piece of bread to eat, with a small quantity of wine to drink after it is consecrated, as they call it, which they pretend to do in remembrance of Christ our Saviour; urging this as necessary to our future happiness as the former, calling this the Lord's supper. He told me, that they had seen both these ceremonies put in practice by the presbyterians, but could not understand that it was a supper, as they used it in the middle of the day; but they looked upon them both as very insignificant to the end proposed,—saying, "The Mang Monettay* looked at the heart, how it was devoted, and not at these childish things:" asking, "Wherein do you differ further from them?" I proceeded, that they held it lawful to kill and destroy their enemies; but we cannot think that good and right in us; but rather endeavour to overcome our enemies with courteous and friendly offices and kindness, and to

* The Great God they frequently called so.

assuage their wrath by mildness and persuasion, and bring them to consider the injury they are doing to such as cannot in conscience revenge themselves again. He assented that this was good. "But who can do it?" said he. "When my enemies seek my life, how can I do other than use my endeavour to destroy them in my own defence?" My answer was, that unless we were under the government of a better spirit than our enemies, we could not do it; but if we are under the government of the good spirit, which seeks not to destroy men's lives, but to save them, and teaches us to do good for evil, and to forgive injuries, then we can submit to Providence, putting our trust in the great God to save us from the violence and wrath of our enemies. The king said, "Indeed this is very good; but do you do thus when provoked by your enemies?" I said many of our friends had done so, and been saved from the rage of their enemies, who have confessed our friends to be good men. "Ay," said he, "they are good indeed; for if all came into this way, there would then be no more need of war, nor one killing the other to enlarge their kingdoms, nor one nation endeavouring to overcome another." I then asked him if this was not a right principle, and one that would much add to the happiness of mankind? They all four said it was very good indeed; but feared few would embrace this doctrine. I said all things have their beginning, and it is now our duty to embrace this

truth, hoping that others, by this example, may do the same. They lifted up their eyes as a token of their assent, shewing by their words their desire that this good spirit might prevail in the world. "Then," said they, "things will go well. But wherein," added he, "do you differ more from them?" I said, we held it unlawful to swear in any case; but our adversaries did not. I found they had not any notion about oaths, and so they dropt it, being desirous of introducing another subject; for having observed our friends behaviour in not pulling off their hats as others did, they wanted to know our reasons for it. I said, uncovering our heads was a token of honour we paid to the great God in our prayers to him; and we thought any homage equal to it ought not to be given to any of his creatures. They said it was all very good. Then we sat silent for some time; and I asked them what they thought of the great God. One of them took a piece of wood coal from the hearth, like charcoal half burnt, and made a black circle therewith on the hearth-stone, and said they believed the great God (or Monettay, as they then called him) to be all eye,—that he saw every thing at once; and all ear—that he heard every thing in like manner; and all mind,—that he knew all things, and nothing could be hid from his sight, hearing, or knowledge. Then I asked, what they thought of the devil? (or bad Monettay,

as they called him.) They said they did not look upon his power independent from the good Monettay, but that what he did was by permission. Nor indeed did they think he had any power at all, but what was given or suffered for him to exercise over Indians, to bring about some good designs of the good Monettay for their advantage, to reclaim them when they were bad, and had displeased the good Monettay. For they believed the good Monettay had all power, yet he employed his servants or angels as we term them, to execute his will. And the Indian that made the circle, described four several small circles on the edge of the great one, and they shewed their opinion how their little Gods were employed to chastise the Indians when bad, and to comfort and encourage them in good. They likewise supposed the four small circles to answer to the four quarters of the world;—that they had inferiors under them again to execute their will when they received a commission from that great mind; but that all derived their power from the supreme eye, ear, and mind, demonstrating their meaning by comparison, thus:—supposing the Indians bad, the good Monettay sees it, and he gives orders to that in the north, and by him to them under him, whereby we are by hard frosts, great snows, and cold winds in the winter, very much afflicted with want of food, and with cold; and in the summer,

either extreme heat or wet prevent the fruits of the earth from coming to perfection, until we be made humble and good. Then we pray for relief, and commission is given to the Monettay in the south, and by him to them under him, whereby we have warm winds, and pleasant rains in the spring, that makes yeo-cod (meaning bucks) easy to be taken and fat, &c. And in the summer, fruitful good weather, neither too wet nor too dry. Thus they account for all reigning distempers, and common calamities by sickness or famine; and on the other side, health and plenty, &c. So in like manner for war and peace, &c. When two nations are both wicked, they are stirred up to destroy each other, either by the devil, or by some of these Monettays by him employed, &c. I then proceeded to query, what thoughts they had of a future state after this life; first desiring to have their opinion, whether they did not think they had a part in them that would never die. This they readily granted and gave me their opinion, what both the state of the good and bad Indians would be in the other world; that the good Indians would go into the south and south-west, where it was very warm and pleasant, and plenty of all things both for pleasure and profit; as supposing, that they should have the delight of enjoying the comforts of eating, drinking, hunting, and all other pleasures they enjoyed here, in a more

agreeable way to soothe and please their desires, than ever they could in this world. Thus they described heaven, as best suited their natural senses, endeavouring to instil into their youth, as they said, principles of virtue and justice, that when they die, as to this world, they may be fit and worthy of this good country or heaven, where it always is serene and quiet, no night, nor winter in this brave pleasant country; but all things in plenty, very good, well and comfortable. But then, the wicked and bad Indians, when they die, go into the north and north-west, a country extremely cold, dark, and unpleasant, without sunshine; they endeavour to get something to satisfy their hunger, but cannot: for the yeo-cod are very poor and they cannot catch them; so in this extremity they desire to die, but cannot; nor can they find any means to put an end to this miserable and wretched life, but they must continue in sorrow and trouble without any hopes of end. Thus they described their thoughts of a future state, either in heaven or in hell, according to their notions of both.

I then turned my discourse, and asked them, what they thought of a good Spirit, that was present with them in their minds? (finding they had no notion of Christ, as to his bodily appearance). They readily acknowledged, that a good Spirit attended them, and did reprove, or make them sorrowful,

when they did wrong. They likewise did believe, the bad Monettay, or devil, did persuade them in their minds to evil, and the more they strove against the devil, and prayed for strength, by and from the good and great Monettay, the more they prevailed over these evil and wicked temptations of the devil in their own minds, which had, they said, no power to lead them into evil, but by their own consent; nor could do them any hurt, if they did not yield to his alluring temptations. I further enquired, if all the Indians were much of the same mind in these matters? but they could not inform me.

I also enquired, whether any amongst them were looked upon as instructors, more than others? they said, "no, but the heads of every family ought to use their best endeavours to instruct their families, but it was neglected; yet they retained the practice of coming all together once in a year, and the elder did advise the younger, what their parents and elders had told them, and thus they transmitted the knowledge of former things from one generation to another, by having them repeated in these assemblies."

Here our conference ended; and as I could treat them with some refreshment, I did, which they thankfully received; and we parted in great friendship and love, after a stay of one night and almost two days.

Some weeks after this, John Rogers, a seventh-day

baptist, from New London in New England, came near two hundred miles on purpose to visit me. He was the chief elder of that society called by other people quaker baptists, as imagining (though falsely) that both in their principles and doctrines they seemed one with us; whereas they differed from us in these material particulars, viz. about the seventh-day sabbath, and in making use of baptism of water to grown persons, after the manner of other baptists, and using the ceremony of bread and wine as a communion, and also of anointing the sick with oil; nor did they admit of the light of truth, or manifestation of the spirit, but only to believers, alleging scripture for the whole. They bore a noble testimony against fighting, swearing, vain compliments, and the superstitious observation of days, for which my visiter had endured sundry long imprisonments, and other very great sufferings besides, both of body and goods. He was a prisoner when William Edmundson was in that country, and had by sufferings obtained so complete a victory over his opposers, that now they took no notice of him; he might do and say what he pleased. But he thought himself, that he had carried his opposition to the observation of the first day as a sabbath a little too far at times, so that he would do all sorts of work,—yea, drive goods or merchandize of sundry sorts in a wheelbarrow, and expose them to sale before the pulpit, when the

priest was about the middle of his discourse, if he was not hindered, which sometimes, though but seldom, happened; and would do any other kind of labour, letting the people know that his reason for so doing, was to expose their ignorance and superstition in observing that day, which had more of law than gospel in it, for Christ was the true sabbath of believers; withal adding that he was raised up for that very end. They admitted women to speak in their meetings, (believing some qualified by the gift of the spirit for that work), and sometimes they were wholly silent, though not often; for they admitted any one, who wanted information concerning the meaning of any text, to put the question, and it was then expounded and spoken to, as they understood it; "thus," said he, "we improve our youth in scripture knowledge." I asked him, if they did not sometimes carry their difference in sentiments too far to their hurt? he acknowledged there was danger in doing so, but they guarded against it as much as they were able.

He gave me a long account of the conference he had with William Edmundson, and told me, that nothing ever gave him so much trouble and close uneasiness, as his opposing William Edmundson at that time, desiring me, if I lived to see William Edmundson, to acquaint him with the sincere sorrow that he had upon his mind for that night's work.

At my return, I acquainted William Edmundson therewith, who desired me, if I lived to see him again, to let him know that it was the truth William Edmundson bore testimony to that he opposed, and therefore it was no wonder that he was so much troubled for his foolish attempt therein.

He gave me an account of his convincement and conversion, which was very large, and although at first it was agreeable and very entertaining, yet by his spinning it out so long, he made it disagreeable, for he staid with me five or six days, and it was the greatest part of his discourse all that time, although I did at various times start other subjects, which he would soon get off, and go on respecting his own experiences.

I queried, why he was so very stiff about the seventh-day, and whether, upon a mild consideration of the opposition he gave about their sabbath, it was not by him carried too far? He acknowledged, that he did not at first see clearly into the true meaning of the sabbath, but that the provocation he met with from the priests, who stirred up the people and mob against him, might sometimes urge him farther than he was afterwards easy with, in opposing them; but when he kept his place, he had inexpressible comfort and peace in what he did; adding, "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God."

I also enquired of him, why they kept to the use

of bread and wine, and plunging or dipping into water, since he taught his people to put no faith in those ceremonies, by supposing any virtue or holiness in them? he replied, that they did it for the sake of those who were weak in faith; adding, that if our friends had taken those two sacraments along with them, they would have driven all before them. This led us into a long conference, the substance of which was to the following effect.

He spoke very much of his satisfaction and unity with George Fox, John Stubbs, John Burnyeat, and William Edmundson, as the Lord's servants, with several others of the first visitors of that country,—that he knew them to be sent of God, and that they had carried the reformation farther than any of the protestants who were before them, since the general apostacy from the purity both of faith and doctrine. First, the church of England, they did nothing in the end but made an English translation of the Latin service used before; the presbyterians they dissented, and the independents, but came not to the root of the matter; the baptists dissented from the other three, but went not through. Upon which, though I could not wholly agree with him in his assertions, I queried, if he thought that all these several steps of the English church from popery, the presbyterians and independents from the English church, and the baptists from all three of them, had not something of good in them? that is, I meant, whether the

first concerned in dissenting from popery, though they afterwards rested too much in the form of worship in the episcopal way, had not the aid of Christ's spirit to assist them in their dissent? and so for all the rest. This he readily granted to be a great truth; and so allowing, that the first reformers acted by divine light, and being faithful to what was made known to them, had their reward; and their successors sat down in that form their predecessors left them in, but did not regard the power and life by which they acted, and so became zealots for that form, opposing the power. "And this," said he, "is the true cause of the several steps of dissent one from another; and the reason why there is so little christian love, and so much bitterness and envy one against another, is their sitting down contented, each in their own form, without the power, so that they are all in one and the same spirit, acting their part in the several forms of worship in their own wills and time, not only opposing the spirit of truth, but making it the object of their reproach, contempt, and envy; and this is the foundation of persecution." "But we shall," I replied, "digress too far from what we had in view; thou allowest the aforementioned friends to be servants of Christ, and guided by his word, and that they advanced the reformation higher than any had done before them; and it is plain they had a concern to lay aside fighting, swearing, vain compliments, as well as baptism and

bread and wine,—these two sacraments, as you call them; and as you continue in the practice of them, it must be in your own will, and not in the will of God, by thy own confession." "How dost thou," said he, "make that out?" "Thus," said I, "first—thou allowest those of our friends to be true ministers, and declarest thy unity with them as such, and they had a concern to draw people's minds from depending upon these shadows to trust in the substance; now how could this be so effectually done, as by persuading the people to discontinue the use of those shadows? for whilst they did use them, though at the same time they were told there was nothing in them, yet weak minds would still retain some regard as though they had some real good in them, when in truth there was none. But if our friends had a concern from the Lord to do this, how canst thou in reason suppose, that by the same spirit you had a concern from the Lord to continue in the performance of them, unless thou wilt suppose contradictory principles and doctrines proceed from that good spirit, which I hope is far from thy thoughts?" "Yea," said he, "that is so indeed;" adding, "we do not act so, for, we say as you do, that there is nothing in these ceremonies but a sign; it is the power of an endless life that we persuade them to seek for in themselves, and not to look on these as any advantage in a spiritual sense at all." "Then," said I,

"you had better do as we do, wholly lay them aside; pray remember the brazen serpent that proved a snare to Israel." But he would not yield to this. I then asked him if ever he had seen a small treatise entitled the doctrine of baptisms, written in Cromwell's time by one William Dell? He never heard of such a book, he said. I had it by me, and turned to the preface in the last paragraph, where the author in a prophetic way has these words,—"But because I see this present generation so rooted and built up in the doctrine of men, I have the less hope that this truth will prevail with them; and therefore I appeal to the next generation, which will be farther removed from these evils, and will be brought nearer to the word, but especially to that people whom God hath and shall form by his Spirit for himself, for these only will be able to make just and righteous judgment in this matter, seeing they have the Anointing to be their teacher, and the Lamb to be their light." Having read this paragraph, he took the book and read it to himself, and was silent until I observed to him, that the author plainly pointed at our people. He allowed there was reason so to think. By this time it was late, and I desired him to take the book, read, and consider it, and let me have his thoughts the next day. So we parted for that time, and he came not till late in the afternoon next day, although he lodged hard by the place of

my confinement; and when he came, told me he had read it carefully, and considered it closely, confessing that it was the language of the spirit and true doctrine. I told him, now I hoped he was satisfied, that it was most safe for them to lay these shadows aside, and labour to bring their people to the substance. He allowed that it might be proper to do so. "But," added he, "it must be done with great care and tenderness, lest some should be hurt by it." To which I replied, "They would be more in danger of being hurt by following these shadowy observations, in which they could have no benefit, and continuing in them might be a means to lead them into superstition and idolatry, and make them sit down and take their rest in the shadows, and seek no farther.

Having said what we could, both of us dropped it by consent; and after some short pause (for he could not long be silent) we fell on the subject of election and reprobation, he asserting, that saving light and grace was only given to the elect, or true believers, and the rest were blinded. I alleged the contrary: that an offer of divine love was made to all, but all did not make good use of it. So to argument we went, and I requested the reason for his belief in this doctrine, desiring him first to explain himself, whether he thought that reprobates were from their cradles or births so fixed, that no means ordained could alter it. He paused some time, and at last

said, "All things with God are possible; but from the doctrine of Paul, *Rom. ix.* it plainly appears, to be so, and that God is glorified by both, as in the case of Pharaoh." I replied, "Pharaoh's case could not be properly adapted to this doctrine, because it was in itself peculiarly intended for the convincing of the Egyptians, as well as the rest of mankind; that He (God) was the only all-powerful God, worthy of obedience; and that the life and power of kings was in him; and to confirm that weak people, the Jews, that if they leaned upon their God, who had done all this before their eyes, they needed not to fear the wrath of kings, though accompanied with strong and numerous armies; for God, who had chosen them, could soon overthrow their enemies, and save them by a mighty deliverance from their rage and wrath. But how this can be brought to support election and reprobation, as it is now understood, and preached up by sundry pretended teachers, I see not; I therefore desire that thou wouldst explain it as thou understands it." He then proceeded as follows, first calling for the book, and turning to the text, *Rom. ix.* he began at the 10th verse, and went on, expounding very strongly and undeniably, in his own view, to the 21st verse, continuing his exposition to an uncommon length; all which I heard with a profound silence, and he too became silent at last, and we sat in silence some

time, and then I spoke to the following effect. That, as it appeared to me, the twenty-second verse took off much of the edge of what he had said with respect to reprobation, which I read, and he confessed it did pretty much so. I farther added, "The doctrine of election and reprobation, in the way it is now expounded by thee, is very injurious, in reflecting on the infinite mercy of God, and point blank opposing the chief end of the gospel, and coming of our Saviour, who tasted death for every man, and offers life by his good spirit and grace to all. Besides, thy way of expounding the apostle in this epistle, makes him quite contradict himself in other places, where he clearly sets forth the love of God by and through Christ, to be universally offered to both Jews and Gentiles, in order to salvation. And last of all, as thou hast explained thyself now upon this doctrine, thou renderest that great duty of prayer almost impertinent, if not quite useless, with all other religious endeavours, &c.; so that if thou canst not make it out otherwise than this, I may, I think, without any breach of charity, conclude thee unsound in thy faith and doctrine of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for all men, and was by his apostles preached the Saviour of the world to both Jews and Greeks. Therefore we must expound Paul in *Rom. ix.* after another manner, so as to reconcile Paul with himself, where he plainly shews God wills

all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth, as in the second of the first of Timothy, and abundantly elsewhere, that we have already touched upon; but if thou wilt give me leave, without interruption, I will give thee my thoughts on this subject, which in short are these:—

"It is beyond all doubt or question with me, that God wills all men to be saved; and to complete his will, and offers of salvation to all, he has ordained the means to procure the end by his own Son, who tasted death for every man, whereby all have it put into their power, as free agents, to make choice for themselves, by applying to the means ordained by God, through His Son our Lord Jesus Christ, for the obtaining that which he has willed for them, viz. salvation! Now if this be true, as the Scriptures assert, and our own experience confirms it to ourselves, then it follows, that all who are diligent, through the obedience of faith, endeavouring to make their calling and election sure, by applying to the means ordained of God, viz. that grace and truth that is come by Jesus Christ, for the obtaining that which he has willed for them, as I have said, we may safely conclude all in this state, to be the elect of God in Christ. But then all who, contrary to this, neglect and slight, nay, suffer me to say, rebel against the inward convictions of grace and truth in their own minds, (which is the only guide and rule

for doing better) and continue herein until they are left and hardened in their sins and wickedness, being given up to a reprobate mind, having their consciences seared as with a hot iron, are past feeling any remorse for their ungodly deeds. These I take to be in a reprobate condition, and this reprobation is of themselves, they having chosen it; for they had the offers of the same grace and truth to assist them to do better, as the elect have had, but would not apply themselves thereto, but wilfully rejected it. Now all this, thou knowest, may be fairly proved by the Scriptures, and thou canst, I think, do no otherwise than allow it to be conclusive to decide this point. For it is plain, the first are the children of God, made so by their co-working with the spirit of Christ; and the other are reprobates and children of antichrist, made so by their rebellion against tbe spirit of truth, and obedience to the spirit of error. And here I conclude with the apostle's words, *Rom. ix.* 22.—'What if God, willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction.'"

Here we closed the discourse. And now I shall go on with my imprisonment and clearing from the same.

About the beginning of the eighth month, 1703, the sheriff had an order to call or warn eighteen men

for a jury, to try their success a second time. Whether, however, they went upon the old indictment or a new one, I could not understand, but it was thought by some of the last jury, to be the same indictment that the first jury went upon; but I was never permitted to see it. The sheriff had private instructions to get such men put into the jury, as they thought would answer their end, which he shewed me with abhorrence, assuring me he would never do it; so the jury was fairly named, and they made no great matter about it; but in a short time (as their predecessors had done before them) they came in with their bill, signed, "Ignoramus," which gave some of the lawyers cause to say in a jocular way, they had got into an ignoramus country.

This was on the second day of the ninth month, and the court adjourned to the next day, at which time I was had into court; which I was told was not regular nor lawful to bring a man to the bar that had nothing laid to his charge by his peers, the grand inquest. However, I was asked if I had any thing to offer to the court. I desired my liberty, and reparation for the wrong done me in taking it from me, &c. The judge told me I might have my liberty, on paying my fees. I replied that I was informed there were no fees due, as the case then was, according to law; but if there had, I should not pay any, it being to me a matter of conscience. The judge said he

believed so, and smiled, speaking something to those near him, that was not heard by me. However, I was set at liberty by proclamation, and a large body of my dear friends, from all parts of the island, came to see me cleared, and had me away with them in a kind of triumph, not being a little glad that I came off so honourably, and even the country people who were not friends, were there in abundance, and rejoiced exceedingly at my enlargement.

I was now at liberty, after having been a prisoner one year, within three weeks and about two days; but not having freedom to go away, I staid some time, visiting every corner of the island, and had very large and open meetings. The people were thoroughly alarmed, so that I found by experience, that my long imprisonment had made me more popular and regarded, so that they flocked in great numbers to where I was, and friends were careful that they should have notice. They appointed a meeting for me at a place called Cowneck, at one Jacob Doughty's, there not having been any at that place before; and as I lay in bed at my dear friend John Rodman's, at the bay side, the night before, I dreamed that an honest friend was fishing in a large stone cistern, with a crooked pin for his hook, a small switch stick for his rod, and a piece of thread for his line; and George Fox came and told me, that there were three fishes in that place, and

desired me to take the tackling of the friend, for that he wanted skill to handle the matter. Accordingly, methought, he (the friend) gave me the rod, and the first time that I threw in I caught a fine fish. George Fox bid me try again, for there were two more in that place; I did, and took up another. He bid me cast in my hook once more; I did, and took the third. "Now," said George, "there is no more there." This dream was taken from me as if I had not dreamed at all. The next day we went to the meeting, and were a little late, for the tide and high fresh-water had obliged us to ride the farthest way, and when we came into meeting a friend was preaching on universal grace. In a little time, however, he left off, and my heart being full of the matter, I took it up, and we had a blessed powerful meeting, and all ended well.

I returned with my friend Rodman to his house, and in our way, my dream came fresh into my memory, and that evening I told it to my friend Rodman, and gave him a description of George Fox's features and bulk, as he appeared to me; and he said I had a very just and right apprehension of him. He had been much with George Fox when he was in Barbadoes, and was well acquainted with him, adding, this remarkable dream shews some good done there this day.*

* There is a large meeting since settled there.

Now after I was clear of Long Island, (it being just with me as if I had been to set out from home), I found it of necessity to convene the elders, and lay before them my concern, as I did when I came from home; and in a tender and fatherly way they took care to examine what I might be in need of, both with respect to linen, woollen, pocket-money and a horse: for as yet I had not bought one, never finding freedom so to do. Friends had, to their praise be it spoken, assisted me from stage to stage, and when I was in prison, I saw I had no want of a horse, and admired the kindness of Providence in restraining me from having one till wanted. I also had sufficient money, by the trade of shoe-making, so that I wanted none, nor did I want any necessaries for the journey but a companion, and then several offered themselves very freely to travel with me. But my dear friend, Samuel Bowne, had a concern to visit the eastern parts of New England, who had a fine gift, but not very large; I was very glad of his company, so we set forward in the beginning of the twelfth month, and the winter not being broken up, we rode over the ice in sundry places in Connecticut colony, some narrow and some broad rivers, New London the largest, but we had no meetings for near two hundred miles. The people being mostly rigid presbyterians, considered it a great crime to be at a quaker's meeting, especially on the sabbath day, as

they term the first day of the week. But coming into Naraganset, we were amongst friends again. So we went for Rhode Island, and there friends were very numerous, and we had large meetings indeed. There was a marriage of a young man, named Richardson, with a daughter of Thomas Rodman, a man of the first rank in the island, so that we had the governor, whose name was Samuel Cranston, and most of the chief men in the government at the marriage, and we had a precious living time, which gave me great encouragement. The governor was very kind, and queried with me about my imprisonment, he being a great lover of friends, but not a professed one himself.

From Rhode Island we went pretty straight towards Hampton and Dover, having some meetings, but few, as we purposed returning to the yearly-meeting in Rhode Island.

When we came to Dover, we had a pretty large meeting, but we were both silent; at which I was somewhat amazed, it being new to me. However, another meeting was appointed next day, some little distance from Dover, which was much larger. My companion said something, but very little, and was uneasy that he said anything. I was quite shut up; and after meeting I was exceedingly comforted, being filled with divine sweetness and heavenly joy, that I was preserved, and did not force myself to offer.

They appointed another meeting the day following, some distance off, at which I found myself quite shut up, and held back as it were from saying anything, and my companion was also silent, who, after meeting looked upon me very innocently, saying, "What dost thou think these people will say, that we should come so far to appoint meetings among them, and have nothing to say?" It just then livingly came into my mind to reply, "Fear not, have faith, nothing doubting but that we shall have enough to say before we leave them."

Our next meeting was to be in the centre of the meetings which we had before, in a rather larger house, but by no means large enough for the company, and the country was all alarmed, so that it was a very large meeting indeed; and it being war time with the Indians, the people brought such weapons as they had to meeting, so that when we came to the meeting house, I was surprised to see so many fire arms, and other instruments of war, standing against the meeting house wall. However, I was before told, that it was the custom of other people to do so; and I found that those fire arms, and war-like weapons, belonged to the people, not friends, who had come to meeting. A large meeting it was indeed, and very quiet; we sat a long time in silence, which induced me to examine my conduct, and to look back to see how it was with me; but finding no

cause of uneasiness from anything I had done before, to cause me to be thus shut up, I came to this conclusion and resignation,—that I was but a servant, and could of myself do nothing; secretly praying that the Lord would give me patience not to be uneasy, if he had nothing for me to do, and if he had, there I was ready and willing to do it; and thus I settled down, diligently waiting for divine direction. In a little time a word came with life, and I stood up with it to the following effect:—"The Lord's time is the best time, and let us not grow uneasy to wait for it; for when he opens none can shut, and when he shuts none can open,"—enlarging on this subject a little more. We had a very glorious meeting, in which I was largely opened in sundry branches of the doctrine of Christ; and I had not seen very often greater tenderness than was at that time amongst the people; for the war with the Indians had humbled them to such a degree, that truth had a very great power upon them indeed, and the meeting ended well.

Immediately I found an uncommon and weighty concern to request the ministers to come together, which they very readily complied with, and they were a handsome number, but not all thoroughly baptized into the work. My companion was very prettily opened, and we had a very suitable service amongst them, and saw clearly the reason why we

were so shut up in silence; some of them had gone into an extreme in preaching and praying, and would continue meetings to an unseasonable length, as likewise in their preaching and praying at table; which gave great uneasiness to some sensible friends amongst them, but they could not redress it till after this opportunity. They themselves saw they were wrong in doing as they had done, and got out of this extreme, which was a degree of ranterism, being attended with a spirit of opposition against the order of friends in monthly and quarterly meetings.

Having finished our service we returned back to Hampton, and had several meetings, and so for Rhode Island yearly meeting, which was very large, and to good satisfaction.

From thence I went by sea to several islands, as Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and some others. In Nantucket I had great satisfaction, for the people, not joined with friends, were moderate baptists, and came generally to meetings, their preacher also with them, who after meeting raised some objections against us, that he had from our adversaries' books, and that which he pitched upon mostly, was about prayer, that we did not pray to God in the name of Christ, but in our own names. I told him we looked upon it to be our duty to pray to God in Christ's name, and as his name is understood to be his power,

we durst not presume to pray to the Father, but as the wisdom and spirit of Christ gave us utterance. He said it was a gospel truth in its primitive purity.

The governor also sent for me, and we conferred about our principles, and after a little time he seemed much pleased with what I had to say. Having finished my service I returned to Rhode-Island, and found some were contriving to have me taken up, by informing the governor against me, as though I was a transgressor, by preaching, as they said, against baptism and the supper of the Lord, as they call the bread and wine. But the governor being at the meeting himself where this supposed offence was given, quickly saw that the arguments used against the present practice of the English Church, as well as presbyterians and baptists, had so much scripture and reason on their side, that it was vain to attempt to confute them; he therefore thought it their wisest way to let it alone.

After this I made another trip to the eastward, my dear companion having returned, visiting in my way back to Dover meetings as they came in course; I visited all the meetings at which I had been before, and had sat in silence in some of them. Now, however, I had large and good service, and great satisfaction amongst them, and the more so, as they now saw it their places not to preach in every meeting, but to wait for the constraint of the divine word before they spoke.

From thence I went to Strawberry Bank, a haven where much shipping resort for masts; and when clear of those parts returned to Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, and several other towns where meetings had not been kept, and amongst them to Newbury. A man that lived in that place, being newly convinced, was very desirous of a meeting at his house, which I consented to; and when the time came, his wife, not being pleased that we came on the account of a meeting, would not permit us to enter the house, but kept the doors locked against us, being, as was said, advised to it by some of their teachers. I walked round the house, and happened to have some conference with her at the window, first assuring her that we had no design to put her husband to any manner of charge, but only to let us have house-room for about two hours to hold a meeting; adding, that it ill became a wife to keep her husband out of his house at such a time; promising her, that if she would let in her husband, not one of our people should come in with him. By thus reasoning the case, she, after a little while, opened the door and would have us to go in, but I had not freedom. The place to hold the meeting was then got ready, being a large place like a barn, where the friend and his men built boats for the shipping, that being his calling, and we sat down, being a few friends, and in a little time many people came, amongst whom,

as it was said, were six preachers. In the course of a short time a young woman stood up who had a pretty gift, but the people behaved very rudely, so that it put the poor girl out of countenance, and she sat down. Then stood up one Lydia Norton, a famous minister, none more so of that country, and indeed she had an excellent gift, and knew how to conduct herself in it. All this however did not avail, the people grew worse and worse in their behaviour, and Lydia having a very strong manly voice, extended it very loud, but all to no purpose, for the people were as loud as she, calling for a dram, and sporting themselves in their folly. So she sat down, and a young man named Joshua Puddington, stood up. They were rude to the women, but worse with him, raking up his former faults, and calling for a can of flip, for he could drink as well as they, they said. And he having been a companion with them in fishing, they made very free with him; so he sat down. By this time the meeting was exceedingly numerous, and continued enlarging very much. It came into my mind, to stand up and take out my bible, which I did, (for I always travelled with one in those days, finding a considerable service in it at times), and opened it, and put my finger in it, as though I would take my text, but I said nothing for some considerable time, till all was quiet, for the people continued in a great confusion for awhile, till some of them observed my book.

They then began to quiet and still one another, urging as a reason for it, that I had the word of God in my hand, such a great regard they paid to my bible; and in a little time all was quiet and still. Then I opened my mouth and said,—"Behold, I am an Englishman," and enumerated the many lands and places I had travelled in, but had never met with any people of such a behaviour as these were; referring to them to advise me what account I must give of the people of Newbury on my return into England. A good comely gentlemanly man, in excuse for the behaviour of the people, said,—"Sir, as for women's preaching we hold it unlawful, because St. Paul hath forbidden it; therefore, we think it not proper to give them a hearing. And as for the man, we know him, perhaps, better than you, and cannot think him qualified for that undertaking; but you seem to be a man of sense, and we will hear you." I replied, "As for women's preaching, it is allowed a disputable point from Paul's words; yet, nevertheless, if any of you are (after this meeting is over) willing to hear what I have to say in favour of it, I shall be willing to give you the best account I can why I think it is lawful. And if any of you can shew better reasons against it, I shall as willingly hear them. And as for the young man I grant you may, as he is a neighbour, have had a much better knowledge of his former conduct in life than I can pretend

to; but, allowing that he may have in time past been loose, that argues not against giving him a hearing. For how know you, but that as Saul did, he might condemn his past life, and give you an example, by his present conduct, to reform? for which reasons you ought to have heard with patience what he had to say to you." The same gentleman replied, "Very right, they ought to have heard him. But I pray you speak what you have to say freely; and I charge all present to make no disturbance or interruption; if they do, in the queen's name, I will commit them." By which words, I found he was in the commission of the peace. And then I began, that religion without righteousness was useless, and could not profit those who professed it. And going on, I came, in the course of my service, to recite the great improvement true religion made on the minds of those who lived in it, in giving them power over their lusts and passions; repeating that of James, i. 26. "If any man among you seem to be religious, and bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain." One of the throng said, "Sir, you impose upon us, there is no such text." I made a full stop, and turned to it; and there were many bibles then appeared. I repeated chapter and verse, and they turned to it. I then asked them if they had it. They replied they had. Then I read both the 26th and 27th

verses, and asked if it was so in their bibles; they answered that it was. I then desired them to consider whether I had repeated the text, or he that said there was no such text, was most in the right. Then I went on with my opening, carefully minding my guide; and in the course of the doctrine I had in my view, I came to treat of faith, and distinguished between true and false faith, shewing, that notwithstanding we might give our assent to the truth of that called the apostle's creed, or any other made and drawn up by men, and that we might be zealous to dispute and contend for the truth of these creeds, in the wording part of them; yet for all that, if we did not lead christian lives, we were still but unbelievers; "for faith without works is dead," the text tells us. At which last words one cried out, "You impose upon us, there is no such text." I immediately stopped, and turned to it, and quoted it, and those who had bibles made search. There being a profound silence, I read the text, asking if it was so in their books. They all replied it was. I made the same remark as before; and then I went on, distinguishing between true and false faith, plainly demonstrating from scripture, that faith was much different from what many took it to be. Indeed truth was eminently preached that day, and there was a considerable tenderness amongst the people, and the meeting ended well.

When I came out, the gentleman came to me, and I acknowledged his kindness towards us; and it suddenly came before me to speak with a loud voice in the street, and to desire, that if any one was at a loss, and did not understand any part of what I had said, or thought I had spoken any thing not agreeing with scripture, I would then desire them to let me know it, and not misrepresent any thing I had said when I was gone. The gentleman made answer on behalf of the people, thus,—"None can have any objection, for I never heard the word better preached in my time." I then told them I was ready to let them know my reasons, why I thought women, properly and duly qualified, might preach lawfully, on condition, that I might have their reasons to the contrary. The gentleman, who undertook still to speak on behalf of the company (who staid to hear and see), said, "Here is none here who will undertake to dispute with you upon this or any other point of religion; but I desire you will favour me with a promise to have another meeting here, and I will get some of the best writers the country will afford, to take down your sermon." But he little knew, that this was no great inducement to my coming there again: however, he pressed it very close, which I excused in the best manner I could, as not knowing that I should or should not. After some earnest pressing of me to go to his house to refresh myself,

which I likewise desired to be excused from, as we had given expectation that we should go to our inn, and we could not stay much longer, because night would come upon us; we parted in good respect and harmony, to all appearance, and my heart was filled with thankfulness and comfort, that we got over that day's work so well.

Now being clear of these parts, I returned, visiting the meetings of friends, and sundry other places, as in particular, Cape Ann, where I met with great opposition. The case was thus:—

At Cape Ann, sundry friends were desirous of a meeting, and more so, because that several young men, who were friends, resided there while they built a ship. Accordingly I went, and several friends with me, and we got there early on a seventh-day, and gave notice of a meeting, which was to good satisfaction, and it being a new thing, it was very large. The people desired another, which was granted; and between meetings, some gave their preacher notice, who had but a small congregation that day, advising him to look after his flock, it being his duty. Accordingly he came before the meeting ended, with several of his elders, and was very noisy. First, he would prove water baptism, from the text, to be an ordinance of Christ. I queried, what form of water baptism would he prove so? to which he answered, evasively, not being

willing to be tied to one more than another. But, after some farther pro's and con's, he was, by his own people, pressed to vindicate his own practice, which was sprinkling. Then he said, that was plainly proved by our Saviour's words,—"Suffer little children to come unto me," &c. I shewed him his mistake; that without perverting that text, it could not be applied to sprinkling of infants in any wise. But our Saviour's words in that place referred to the state of innocency that such should experience to be like little children in their minds, as free from all manner of vice and wickedness, before they were fit and prepared for the kingdom of heaven, which sprinkling with elementary water could not do for them, and opening more at large the state of the new birth and regeneration. In doing this he would often break in upon me, but his own people cried shame, for the interruption he gave, adding, when I had done, he should be heard. But he was so much out about the proof of sprinkling infants by our Saviour's words, that I found he was very weary of the dispute, and willing to drop it, and would go on upon perfection. I urged him to clear up baptism first, as we were upon it; but he would break off from it, urging, that both he and his people were satisfied about it. I then asked why he began upon it? To shew us our errors, he replied. So finding nothing was like to come of it, but tumult

and noise, we pressed it no farther. Then he charged us with being in an error about perfection. I desired to know wherein. He was very unwilling to shew wherein, and flew off to election; in short, he would stick to nothing. So that one of his hearers reproved him very sharply, for his abounding in so many charges of supposed errors, and proving nothing; adding, that it did not suit his station as a minister, whose work it was, or ought to be, to set people to rights, and to shew them wherein they were wrong, and not to heap up charges of errors, without shewing anything of proof that they were so, which could by no means be a way to convince and inform those in error. At this pertinent rebuke he left us, some, though very few, going with him. I then desired the people to sit down, and be still; which they readily complied with; and after a short pause, it was with me briefly to speak to each point, explaining, as well as I could, in so short a time, the doctrine of outward baptism to be but a figure of the inward, as outward circumcision was of the inward, viz. of the heart. I likewise set forth the new birth and regeneration in as clear a light as time would permit, with perfection and election, and reprobation; all which, though but very briefly touched upon, took up a considerable time, so that the night was considerably more than half spent. When I had done, the people were exceedingly quiet and civil, and

declared their satisfaction, wishing their minister had likewise staid, for he could not have gainsaid what was spoken to each point. Some few of them staid a short time after, desiring that they might have more such meetings, and we parted in much love and sweetness; in particular, that elder who reprehended the minister, as he called him, said, religion could never prosper, so long as it was made a trade of to get bread by; and he seemed convinced that both the doctrine and practice of their people were inconsistent with primitive religion and our Saviour's doctrine. And thus we closed our conference and took leave.

From thence I returned towards Rhode Island, taking my leave, as not expecting to see them again this journey.

I went from Rhode Island to Block Island, where were a few friends, but much hurt by lewd company, such as privateer's men and the like, but all the inhabitants came to meeting, and were very sober and willing to hear. One Ebenezer Slocum, a fine minister, was with me in this island, and we had three or four meetings among them. I then returned to Rhode Island again, and was at two large meetings with friends, and took my solemn leave; I had also a meeting in Connecticut, at which were many friends from both Rhode Island and Naraganset; a fine solid meeting it was. Then I went to Naraganset and

had two or three meetings there, and took my leave and came to New London, and so for Long Island, and at the east end of it had some meetings, where both friends and others were very glad of my coming. I had many meetings in several places, and there was great flocking to them, and very great openness amongst the people in those parts. A friend told me, that George Keith had proposed, as a means to prevent the growth of quakerism, as he called it, the making of a law to restrain friends from travelling, save to their own meetings; for he said it was the travelling preachers that kept the quakers up so strong in countenance. This was thought by some hot bigots a likely way to put a stop to the increase of the quakers, who had infected almost the whole country; but by people of moderation and sense, it was hissed at. But to the matter. There was a very large meeting at Westbury on the plain, called a yearly meeting, to which most of the friends of the island, and many of the better sort of the west end of it came, it being known, that I should take my leave there; and I was very much opened, in setting forth the difference between the true and false ministers, and the true and false worship; and there being some of Keith's friends, they threatened to have me taken up again; but I found that truth was over them, and they could do no more than show their teeth, for they could not bite.

After this meeting I left the Island, and went into the Jerseys by Straten Island, to Woodbridge, Shrewsbury, Crosswicks, and back to Egg-harbour, visiting friends, and so back to Philadelphia, to the yearly meeting, which was very large, and I had good satisfaction in being there. Here several of my dear friends from Long Island met me, in particular, my dear friend Samuel Bowne and his worthy wife, who was a good mother in Israel. With this good woman I left fifteen pounds, to defray some charges my good friends had been at, about my imprisonment, for chamber rent, and a present they made the keeper, which I was unwilling that they should pay, having plenty of money, that I earned in prison by making shoes. My dear friends however would not permit it, but returned it me by Samuel Bowne, who used so many arguments, that it did not look well for them to suffer it, alleging that it would be a reproach on them, and look as though I did not count them worthy to treat me as a minister; so rather than bring uneasiness upon my brethren, I took it again.

From Philadelphia I accompanied these my friends going on their way home, about thirty miles, as far as Crosswicks, visiting that meeting and Burlington, took my leave there, and came to the Falls meeting, and so visited all the meetings on that side of the river, down through the Welsh towns to Philadelphia; and taking my leave there also, went to Concord and

Chester, visiting sundry meetings, making towards Maryland. A Welsh friend, named Ellis Pugh, who proposed to come over with me to visit his friends in Wales, was now with me, and we came into Maryland, and took our passage home with a friend, whose name was Daniel Maud, but he could not be ready to sail under two months; so my companion returned to his family, and I visited Virginia and Carolina, and had good satisfaction. I took my leave and returned to the ship, and found my dear friend Ellis Pugh labouring among friends in Maryland. In a little time the ship fell down the bay to Kickatan, where the fleet made up, waiting for convoy, and in a few weeks the fleet came together, being very large; but many ships had taken so great damage by staying so long in the country, that they could not bear the sea, and several foundered, and some put back to unload, and have their ships repaired. We had a long passage, but arrived safe; landing at Portsmouth in the tenth month, 1706; and visited only a small meeting at Portsmouth and took coach for London, where I staid to visit the meetings in the city, and afterwards went down to Wiltshire quarterly meeting, where was some uneasiness among friends, but happily it was reconciled.

I then went into Somersetshire to visit my friend, being under an engagement of marriage to her, as before hinted, where I staid a few weeks, and visited

various meetings in that neighbourhood, and so for Bristol, where I staid a week or ten days, then went pretty direct into the North, which I called my home, and glad I was to be amongst my old friends again.

Having visited the meetings in our own country, and delivered up my certificate, giving an account of my travels, at the next monthly meeting I acquainted friends with my intended marriage, having a few lines from under my intended wife's hand, as likewise from her parents, shewing their consent. I desired a certificate from the meeting, and persons were appointed, as is usual in the like cases, to make inquiry of my clearness; and in the interim the quarterly meeting for Cumberland happened to be at Carlisle, whither I went. The meeting was exceedingly large, and I had great satisfaction in being there. I visited a few meetings in Cumberland, but was limited for time, being obliged to be at the next monthly meeting to have my certificate to present in Somersetshire, in order to proceed towards my marriage.

By this time the spring was advanced, and my worthy friend James Wilson offered his company to go to my marriage; accordingly we set forward, and took in our way the yearly meeting at Middlewich, which was very large, and many weighty friends were there; I had great satisfaction and

comfort in being there. So we took meetings as they suited, in our way; and I found my companion under a great concern to speak something in meetings, but very backward and reluctant to give up to it, but I gave him encouragement such as I was able: and in Tewkesbury meeting, after some struggle in himself, he stood up, and appeared very much to his own and friends' comfort, and so in every meeting after till we came to Bristol; and indeed he appeared more like an elder in the work than a babe. But at Bristol he did not get through what he had before him to his liking, and sat down under very great discouragement, but I cheered him up as well as I could, by giving him an account of my experiences; and when we came to the little country meetings again, he did finely, and gathered strength and experience in the work very fast.

We came to my intended father in law's house, and went to their monthly meeting, where I and my friend proposed our intended marriage, which was taken notice of. And then Bristol yearly meeting coming on, we went thither, and met our worthy friend Thomas Camm, who intended to be at our marriage. After the yearly meeting was over at Bristol, Thomas Camm took a meeting or two in the way, but my friend James and I returned back, in order for me to get clear of the monthly meeting, and likewise to provide ourselves with necessaries for the

wedding, which was to take place the week following at a meeting on purpose at Puddimore. It was a very large meeting, sundry public friends, besides Thomas Camm, being there.

The yearly meeting at London coming on, I staid but a few days with my wife; I would have had her gone with me, but her mother was taken ill of a feverish disorder, and was very weak, for which reason she was not able to go; so I was obliged to leave her to nurse her mother, who in a few days grew much better, but I had first a sweet opportunity with the family, and one or two friends more, in her chamber, and the spirit of prayer came on James, and he was drawn forth very largely, and very devoutly. After which, not without some considerable reluctance, we parted for a short time, and James and I set out for London, and that meeting was very large, and friends there were willing I should give some account of my travels, which I was much afraid of; but being called upon in the meeting, I did it, and came off much better than I expected; sundry friends expressing their approbation of it.

As soon as the meeting was over, dear James and I had a heavy parting, but as I was going to my wife, that helped to cheer my heart a little. I came directly home without taking any meeting, having my dear friend James Salter, and sundry others who had been at the yearly meeting, in company. And

now I staid with my dear wife, and went very little abroad for more than twelve months, having very great comfort and satisfaction in my married state, my wife being a true sympathizer with me in all the exercises which I often was under, of one kind or another; as sometimes I feared how we should go on in the world; and she would often say, "If we get but little, we will spend less; and if we save a little out of out gettings, we shall do well enough, I am not at all fearful of it, neither would I have thee." Then I was jealous that my ministry was not so living as it had been before I was married; and making my trouble and uneasiness about it known to my wife, she would endeavour to dissuade me from such thoughts, adding, there was no reason for for it; so that I found her to be a help-meet indeed.

Then finding a concern to visit Ireland, I acquainted her therewith, and she gave me up so freely and cheerfully, that it was like a cordial to me; saying, that she expected I would often leave her, and that she had resolved in herself, before marriage, she would never hinder my ministry if she could possibly avoid it, and she hoped that the Lord would strengthen her, and make that easy to her.

So accordingly, about the fifth month, 1708, I applied to the monthly meeting for a certificate, which I had, and then took shipping at Minehead, and landed at Cork, where I staid two or three

meetings to good satisfaction; I then went to Charleville and Limerick, visiting the meetings along that side of the nation to Coleraine, and I found very hard work in many places, and in some meetings was quite shut up; but I found, where the people who did not profess with us came in plentifully, it was not so, but there was an open door; and that worthy friend, and heavenly-minded, meek, and divine preacher, Gilbert Thompson, was there at the same time; and when we conversed about it, I found he was, much as I was, shut up, and found it very hard work in some places to get forward; and as he was in experience and age much my superior, I requested what he thought might be the reason, why it seemed more dead amongst friends in this nation now, than in some other places. He gave this as a reason:—that the professors of truth in that nation were very strict and exact in some things, and placed much in outward appearance, but too much neglected the reformation and change of the mind, and having the inside thoroughly cleansed from pride and iniquity; "for thou knowest," said he, "the leaven of the Pharisees was always hurtful to the life of religion in all shapes." Yet nevertheless we found a brave living people in that nation, and great encouragement there was to visit fresh places.

I came from Coleraine to Lurgan, Mount-Allen, and sundry small meetings thereabout, as Hillsborough,

Lisburn, Raffer-Island, and so to Drogheda, friends having a meeting-house in that town, few however came to meeting, there being no friends in the town, except two men. From thence I went for Dublin, then visited the meetings towards Wicklow, Waterford, and so on to Cork, and had a large meeting at Kinsale, it being the first meeting in the meeting-house that friends had built there. Friends in that kingdom are highly to be commended, in not sparing charge for accommodating meetings, either by building or hiring places for that service.

By this time the half-yearly-meeting at Dublin came on, but nothing very remarkable happened there. I took my leave of friends, and when clear I left the city, and my dear friend Joseph Gill accompanied me about three weeks. He did not then appear as a minister in meetings, but was under great exercise, and I was satisfied he was under a very considerable influence of divine goodness, which would be manifested by his coming forth in the ministry in due time, which accordingly came to pass; for in a few weeks after his return, he appeared very acceptably in the ministry, and became a very serviceable man in the work.

After we parted I went on for Cork, in order to take shipping home, which I did, but the wind not favouring us for almost three weeks, gave me some uneasiness, because I had written to my wife, that I

intended coming sooner; and I heard afterwards some of our neighbours had reported, that I, with the ship, was taken into France; but my poor wife bore up bravely under it. When the wind sprung up fair, the master set sail, but we were but just got clear of the river before it veered against us; so the master proposed that we might fetch Waterford, and thought it would be better to do so than to go back to Cork; accordingly we all agreed, and got there by the close of the evening, being seventh-day; I staid the first-day meeting, which was very much to satisfaction, and I was opened in the excellency of the gospel. On second-day we set sail again, and got into Minehead in about forty-eight hours, and I posted home by Bridgewater, and met with a hearty and kind welcome from all our family, more especially my dear wife, having spent in Ireland somewhat more than eighteen weeks. It soon got abroad that I had reached home, and many friends from several neighbouring meetings came to visit me, and we had great comfort in one another.

Now I had nothing to do but visit the meetings around me which were pretty numerous but one thing came upon me pretty much, and that was, to put myself into some business to get bread. Some proposed one way, some another. London and Bristol were both proposed, but I could not see my way to either of them; and what I should do in the country,

being ignorant of farming, I saw not yet. At last it was proposed that I might with a little charge make a conveniency to make a little malt, in which, when an apprentice, I had some experience, being then used to it. I accordingly did, but my stock was very small, but some kind friends lent me some money, and I found it answer better than I had expected, so that I was encouraged to proceed; and in about three years time I found it answer very well, so that I went on with pleasure, and took great care, and was very diligent in my business, and in attending all meetings that I could reach in a morning's ride, as I found a concern so to do; and the comfort and happiness I enjoyed was great, for I could entertain my friends with a lodging and other necessaries in a plain way, which was very agreeable to us both; and most friends that came, took a bed with me one or two nights, as best suited their convenience in their journey.

But in a little time a storm arose: the parson of the parish having had nothing from our family for thirteen years and upwards, of his small tithes, and other church-dues, (as he called them) got a summons for me to meet him before the justices; but before the time came I wrote him a few lines to know his demand, and he wrote me a long letter in answer thereto. I replied to his answer, all which are hereunto annexed. The time came, and some other friends were convened by other priests from other parishes at

the same time. When I was called, there were two justices, one Edward Phillips, Esq. of Montacute, and — Harben, Esq. of Newton. Phillips was very rough and boisterous in words, and Harben altogether as mild, using sundry arguments to persuade me to pay it myself, or suffer some other person to pay it, being very earnest that I should suffer him to pay it for me, and he would not desire to have it altogether; supposing that I might not so well spare what the parson demanded at once. I told him I was very much obliged to him for his kind offer, believing his intention was to serve me in it, but I could by no means accept it, without injury to my own mind, it being a matter that concerned my conscience, which I was desirous to keep void of offence towards God. He took me into another room, and was very earnest to have it made up; urging, that it was so much in arrears, that it was beyond their power to end it, and it must be put into the exchequer, and that would be very chargeable, which, he said, must fall upon me at last. I told him that I could do nothing to make it up; and having conferred some time, we went in again, and he spoke to the following effect, that he was very sorry he could not serve us, as we were both his neighbours and friends, (meaning the parson and me) and told the parson it would be uneasy to us both, and would have us end it between ourselves. I said, "If it were a matter of just debt, that I was satisfied

was my neighbour's due, I should soon end it with my neighbour Ray, and be as willing to pay as he was to receive it; but as it was not of that nature, I could by no means do it." So I was dismissed, and in a little time served with an exchequer process; and in a few months after, in the next term, I was taken up in my way for Bristol, where I was going about my business, and put into gaol. When the parson however had got me there he was very uneasy indeed, so that he could not take his rest, and told his attorney, if he lost all his claim, he could, by no means, keep me there, for he had no rest or quietness of mind night nor day. So accordingly the attorney came to the keeper in less than ten days' time, in the parson's name, desiring him to let me go home to look after my business. This I accordingly did, and in a few days went my journey to Bristol; and when I had done my business there, I took a little turn into Wiltshire, and spent about two weeks, in visiting sundry meetings, and so returned home.

I afterwards advised my friends at the meeting for sufferings in London, how it stood; who advised me, that the parson could not proceed farther, as he had taken me up, and put me into gaol: so I heard no more of it all that winter; but in the spring, a distant relation of our family came to my wife, when I was from home, and desired her to lend him ten pounds,

for he was going to a fair, being a considerable grazier. She had no thoughts about the parson's demands, that being a much larger sum, and he being a dissenter, and having done me the like favour, she lent it him, and he gave her his note accordingly. My wife, when I came home, told me what she had done, and I said it was very well, mistrusting nothing of any trick in the matter; but as he came in my absence to borrow it, so in like manner he came under pretence to pay it, addressing himself to my wife to this effect; "Dear cousin, if you can help me to that note, I had best pay it—you know I borrowed it of you, and shall pay it to you." So she very innocently fetched his note, and he tore it immediately, and putting his hand into his pocket, takes out and throws her down the parson's receipt for the ten pounds, in full of all demands for tithes to that time. My poor wife was under a very great surprise, urging, that it would be a very great uneasiness to me. "Your husband," said he, "is, we allow, a man of sense, but in this he is a stubborn fool; and I would have paid it out of my own pocket, rather than he should have ruined you and himself, which this exchequer suit would soon have done if it had gone on; for his original demand is fourteen pounds and upwards, and he has been at forty or fifty shillings charge already, and you must have paid that and ten times more if it had gone on,

which now I have cleared for ten pounds; I think you are exceedingly well off." "Ay," said she, "but we look at inward peace more than all that, and I shall be blamed for being privy to the contrivance, and beget a jealousy in my husband about other affairs." "Oh! my dear cousin, trouble not yourself about that," said he, "for I can clear you, that you are as innocent of it as a new-born babe: and I know I could not have brought it about with your husband, for he would have started so many questions, that I could not possibly have effected it any other way, than by ploughing with his heifer.

When my wife told me of it, which she did not immediately, it troubled me much, to have my testimony thus evaded by this undermining trick, which was, in the man that did it, designed for our good no doubt, and the note that he gave for the money being destroyed, I had nothing to shew under his hand for the money, and what to do in it I was at a loss; but I thought it best to convene the elders, and let them know how it stood, and to be advised how I might clear my testimony, and my dear wife and self, from having any hand in this deceitful trick. This I accordingly did, and they were satisfied we were clear of the contrivance, but did not know what to do to satisfy others about it; one friend was for suing him that had thus tricked me for the ten pounds: but others thought

such an act would do more hurt than good, and thought it by no means advisable to act any farther, than to go to my kinsman and let him know, that what he had done in the case, though by him intended for a kindness, yet it had the contrary effect on our minds, so that although he intended to serve us, it proved a disservice, and to request, that for the future he would never serve us so again.

In due time my wife and I took an opportunity, and discoursed the matter over with him; and he to excuse it said, he little thought we would take it so much amiss as we had, having, as he thought, no reason for it, and wondered that our friends should be so stubborn as to contend against law; and he could not bear to think we should be served as Mr. Banton and Mr. Tilly were; "and indeed, if it were again to occur, I should do the same," said he. Robert Banton and William Tilly were two very great sufferers by exchequer process, both very honest sincere friends. Thus was this affair ended. The first letter I wrote to the parson, with the parson's answer, and my reply, are hereunto annexed.

"Lymington, the 15th of the fourth Month, June, 1712.

"Neighbour Ray,

"Since thou art pleased to proceed against me by justice's warrant, I desire thou wouldst be

pleased to let me know, what thou demandest? else, how shall I be able to make my defence. I think thy people this year and last were very unreasonable in their taking, having both years (modestly computed) taken above one eighth part of my hay: and Brook's* never, as I am informed, paid any in kind till thou came into the parish; but now for nine-pence the three acres, thou hast taken every year hay worth eight or nine shillings per annum at least. As for arguments between us, for or against, I suppose them needless, but I take it very hard to be so treated from a man of thy pretensions. I believe thou wouldst not, if in my case, like such treatment; not that I murmur or repine because my goods are taken away on this account, being persuaded that it is my duty actively to refuse a compliance with the laws that command tithes; and if I must, (as I have already,) suffer the spoiling of my goods, I hope passively to submit and bear it. This I conclude with desires of good for thee and thine every way.

"SAMUEL BOWNAS."

"Sir,

"I have been above thirteen years in the parish, and have not given your family any disturbance, though the arrears which are due to me are considerable; so that you have no reason to complain of hard

* A little water mead of three acres, called Brook's mead.

usage from me, but rather to thank me for my kindness, in bearing this injustice so long.

"You do not think, when you go to law with one another, or with some of those who differ from you, that you spoil their goods, when you put them to charges, that you may force them to do you justice. And why, pray you, should it be thought a spoiling of your goods, when we do nothing more than you do yourselves, when you think you are wronged, that is, endeavour to recover our own? for I demand nothing of you but what I know to be mine before I receive it.

"You might as well make an entry upon our glebe-lands, or upon any thing else we possess, as to seize upon the tithe, to which you have no more title than to the other, unless you have bought them, as I am sure you have not.

"For every body who understands these things will tell you, that when such lands as are tithe free, are sold or let, they are for that reason valued at a higher price, and the lord or seller makes the tenant or purchaser pay for the tithe, as well as for the rest of the estate: and that on the other hand, there is a proportionable abatement made to the purchasers and tenants of such lands as are liable to the payment of tithes. And there is very good reason for it, because in that case, the tithes being no part of the landlord's property, he cannot make them over

to another, or demand a price for that which he has not sold; and those who rent or purchase his estate, can claim no title by virtue of any conveyance or grant of his, but only to what he had a right to dispose of himself; so that if you will needs, in this matter, pretend conscience, you ought not to occupy any land but what is tithe-free.

"But if you think that this would be very grievous and inconvenient, you ought, when you occupy tithe-land, to permit us quietly to enjoy our tithes, which are a part of our freehold; and to which we have the same title as we have to our glebe, wherein you claim no propriety, as indeed you have no manner of title to the tithe. If you have, be pleased to shew it, and let us know from whom you had it. And if you have none, as I know you have not, do not go to pretend conscience for invading your neighbour's property.

"For my part I do not see any reason, why you should not actively comply with the law for payment of tithes, as well as with that for taxes, as your friends have done throughout the kingdom ever since the Revolution; and some of them have been collectors, though the title of the act of parliament did plainly shew, that the tax was for carrying on a war against France with vigour. And yet your friends, even those who have been of greatest reputation among you, and the champions of your cause, have

declared as much against the lawfulness of all war, as they have done against the payment of tithes; and sometimes have carried the matter so high, as to refuse the payment of money demanded of them for that purpose; as Robert Barclay in his Apology tells us they suffered, because they would not pay for drums and colours, and other military furniture. And this they did in the time of peace, when the militia met only to make a raree-show, and had at the place of rendezvous no other enemies to skirmish with but butterflies. Nevertheless, since the war against France began, your friends have given the same active obedience to the laws for payment of taxes, as their fellow subjects have done; and I hope you, for the future, will do for the payment of tithes, which, according to your avowed principles, is as lawful as the payment of taxes for carrying on a war with vigour.

"It is a vain thing to pretend conscience to excuse oppression or covetousness, for it must be one or either of these which makes any man take possession of what is not his own, but his neighbour's.

"If we lived by the alms-basket, and could claim nothing but what we might expect from the benevolence of those from whom we make any demand of this nature, we could not blame you so much; but the case is otherwise, for we desire none of your benevolence, and we know the tithe is no part of your estate, and that you can claim no right to it

either by donation or purchase. Therefore do not call that your own which is not; and seeing that you disclaim against all violence or oppression of men on the account of their conscience, we may reasonably expect so much tenderness from you, that you would not oppress us, because we differ from you; and that you would not, under a pretence of conscience, seize upon our estates, and then make an outcry against us, when we desire the assistance of the civil magistrate, for recovering any part of our properties or freeholds, as often as you unjustly invade them. Surely we might look for more equity from you, we being members of that church, which in other respects, permits you the free exercise of your religion, and has confirmed the same by the late act of indulgence, agreed upon by the bishops, lords, and commons of our communion. An instance of such moderation was never shewn to our church by any other sect who had us under their power, whether papists, or some violent and fierce protestant dissenters, who perhaps would handle us as roughly as our predecessors were by them, if God should again permit us to fall under their merciless hands.

"You say, you take it hard to be so treated by a man of my pretensions, and if it was from some of the same cloth, you would think it was like themselves. But why should it be thought inconsistent with my pretensions, to demand what I know to be my own? And why may not I say the same to you,

that I take it hard to be so treated by a man of your pretensions, who profess, that violence against those who differ from you, merely on account of their conscience, is unwarrantable; and yet, contrary to this your profession, you seize upon that which is mine,—mine by as good a right as you have to your own estate? For you cannot say that you have purchased the tithes, or that any who had a title to dispose of them, made them over to you; and yet for all that, you pretend conscience for the disturbance you give me, for no other reason, but because I am of a different communion from you. If this was done by some who maintain that violence against men of another persuasion is meritorious, and that heretics ought not to be suffered to live, I should think it was like themselves; though from you I might expect other things. But let that be as it will, I desire nothing from you but the profits of my own estate, which you unjustly withhold from me; and I am resolved, whatever you think or say about the matter, that I will have my right. However, if you are willing to live peaceably, I shall be as moderate as you can expect, and for that reason have referred this business to Mr. Smith, whom I have authorized to do as he thinks fit.

"I am, Sir,

"Your friend and well wisher,

"*At the Parsonage House,* "WILLIAM RAY."

"*July 24th,* 1712."

"Lymington, the 10th of sixth month, August, 1712.

"Neighbour Ray,

"Since thou hast advanced some arguments for thy taking tithes, I have somewhat to offer in answer thereunto, for my refusal.

"First — Thou art pleased to write, I ought to thank thee for forbearing with this injustice so long; but I take the refusal of paying tithes to be no injustice. Therefore, &c.

"Secondly—Thou sayest, when I go to law with another, (or some that differ from me) I do not think that can be called spoiling their goods. This I do not take to be a parallel case, for, first, if I go to law with any man, it shall be for some just debt owing to me, for which he, with whom I so go to law, shall have received some valuable consideration; but from thee I have received none for the tithe of my increase; therefore it is not a parallel case.

"Thirdly—He with whom I go to law shall have no just plea of conscience, because, if I can have no plain demonstration that he had of me a valuable consideration for which I make my demands on him, I will not go to law at all; therefore it is not a parallel case.

"Fourthly—If, on such a foundation, I go to law, and force my adverse party to justice by law, I conclude with thee, it is not spoiling his goods. But to

go to law, and by it to take away people's goods, without such a valuable consideration as above, is spoiling of goods, in my opinion, with a witness.

" Thou writest me, I ' may as well seize the glebe lands, or upon any thing else we possess, as upon the tithes.' Under favour, I am of another mind; because I have no title to show for thy glebe lands, or any thing else thou enjoyest; but for my land, the whole I take to be mine, without any reserve or exception whatsoever, as the writings that give me my title to it, do sufficiently set forth and declare; and I have given for it a valuable consideration, which thou never didst for the tenth part thereof. Therefore, I am sure I have more right to it than thou canst pretend to, in justice, equity, and reason; because I have bought, without reserve, the whole, and manured the same at my own cost and charge, but thou hast bought no part thereof, nor been at any charge about improving it, that I know of.

"Thou farther writest, that every body who understands these things, will tell me, when such lands as are tithe free are sold, for that reason they are valued higher. What argument is that for the lawfulness of tithes? according to the gospel, I conceive, none at all.

"The next is, that if I occupy tithe lands, I ought quietly to permit you to enjoy your tithes. That is the matter in dispute, which shall in its place be spoken to.

"Now I am come to thy argument about taxes, wherein thou endeavourest to make us inconsistent with ourselves, in actively complying with the law for taxes, but refusing a compliance with the law for tithes, endeavouring thereby to lay tithes and taxes upon one foundation. In this also I differ from thee, for I understand taxes to be paid as a civil debt, tribute or custom, to Cæsar; but tithes are paid as a religious act to God and holy church, as in its place shall be farther shewn.

"Indeed our Saviour said, 'Render unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God, the things that are God's.' *Mark xii.* 17. Now if we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's, then it remains to be proved, that tithes are Cæsar's due, before they be demanded as his right.

"But here is the grand objection of inconsistency; that because we have suffered for refusing to pay towards the militia for drums, colours, &c., and yet actively comply with the law of taxes, which is to carry on a war with vigour, &c., insisting on Robert Barclay's words to strengthen the objection. We are still of the same mind with Robert Barclay, that wars and fightings are inconsistent with the gospel principles; and when it is brought so near to us, that by law we are obliged to act both in person and estate, we, in this case choose rather passively to

suffer, than actively to comply, for conscience' sake. And this is still our case, and a suffering we lie under (with respect to the militia) in many places, being careful to walk by the rule of Christ's doctrine; and yet do not hereby think ourselves inconsistent in actively complying with the law of taxes, in rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and he may do therewith what pleaseth him,—we may not direct him. Therefore, to use thy own familiar simile, I take this argument of taxes to have no more weight in it, in relation to tithes, than the enemies that the militia met with in their rendezvous, at their raree-show.

"Thou writest, that 'it is a vain thing to pretend conscience to excuse oppression or covetousness.' I am entirely of thy mind, so that where any man pretends to refuse the payment of tithes out of covetousness, believing at the time in his conscience that they are justly due;—it is a pity, I say, if that be his only excuse, but that he should pay smartly for it. But beware of mistaking, by supposing the refusal to proceed from covetousness, when it is really conscience.

"Thou addest, if you lived by the alms basket, &c. which indeed I think you ought to do, if your own hands cannot sufficiently administer to your own wants. For a forced maintenance is not consistent with the gospel ministry; and that thou

knowest right well, having often confessed it in my house. Thou addest, tithes is no part of my estate, either by donation or purchase. But I say as above, I have purchased the whole, without reserve or exception as tithes. But in thy own country, North Britain, I have been informed, tithes are excepted in deeds and conveyances, so that they have some colour to use such arguments there, but I can see no foundation for such an argument in this country at all. Thou advisest me not to call that my own, which is not. I say, it is my own, because, as above, I have, without reserve, purchased the whole, as witness my writings; besides all that, at my own charge I have manured and improved it.

"Thy next paragraph is already answered.

"I acknowledge thee a member of that church or society, who have granted us the indulgence we now enjoy in the exercise of our religion; for which I, with the rest of my brethren, ought to be truly thankful to God and the government. But I must tell thee, some of thy brethren, not of the meanest rank in your church, have, like battering rams, endeavoured to break the chain of indulgence we now enjoy, but Providence has hitherto prevented them, and I hope ever will, unless God shall see meet to try his church, to discover thereby the truly religious from the hypocrites.

"Thou seemst angry, and to resent it, that I should take it ill or hard, to be so treated by a man of thy

pretensions; but the reason why I so wrote, is this, because I have more than once heard, that my neighbour Ray said in our house, that it was a matter of conscience to him, to force a maintenance from such as for the sake of conscience could not pay him; using that text, 'Whose ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded?' which I have sometimes spoke of to others, and it gained great credit and good thoughts concerning my neighbour Ray; and for that reason, and no other, I took such treatment hard. But however, if thy conscience be altered, it will give reason for my thoughts concerning thee also to change.

"Now I shall give thee my reasons, why I cannot actively comply with the law for paying tithes, and answer thy last paragraph in the conclusion of this.

"First—I was in my youth very thoughtful touching the nature and design of religion, and conscious in myself, that an implicit faith, with a blind obedience, might not be sufficient to bring me to the end intended by it. Secondly—Observing many under great sufferings for refusing to pay tithes, and their plea for it was conscience; but many more I found did pay, and thought they did right, at least made no scruple of conscience in doing it. This contradiction in practice made me willing to look into it myself; that, thirdly—what I did herein might not be for imitation's sake on either side, but that I

might act on a principle of faith, as knowing, what is not of faith is sin. And fourthly, and lastly—these reasons put me on examining and trying for myself.

"This premised, I now assure thee, that it is not out of stubbornness, ill-humour, or covetousness, but purely on a principle of conscience, for these reasons following,—that I can neither pay or receive tithes.

"First.—The dedication of them is grossly superstitious, and, I think, protested against by most, except such as love to suck the sweet of other men's labor; being dedicated and given by king Ethelwolf, about 855, to God and St. Mary, for the redemption of his own soul, with the souls of his ancestors; in the consideration whereof, the clergy were to sing such a number of masses for the king and his nobles, &c.

"Secondly.—It is already granted by me, that we must render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God, the things that are God's. And I promise thee, for mine own part, I shall be both ready and willing to pay the tenth of my increase unto God, when I am satisfied he requires it of me; or unto them he shall appoint, when I am satisfied he has appointed them, as he did the tribe of Levi. But for me to pay tithe to a man, claiming it as a minister of God, when I know that no such thing is required of me, (tithe being no gospel maintenance, that I can understand,) it may justly be said unto me

'Who has required this of thy hands?' Yet, however, if tithe be compelled from me by a human law, I cannot help that, nor resist the force of that demand by argument from scripture; therefore, being persuaded that God requires of me no such thing as the payment of tithes, but that I am called to protest against all superstition and idolatry, and the law of tithes plainly appearing to me to be such, therefore I cannot, with a safe conscience, actively comply therewith, but choose rather to please God than man, although it may be to my disadvantage in this world, yet, by so doing, I hope for future gain.

"Thirdly.—And again, tithes are required to be paid as a religious act, viz. to God and holy church; and as above, I am persuaded that God requires no such thing, therefore I cannot pay them with a safe conscience, being a protestant against that which I call popery, not in word and tongue only, but in deed and truth also.

"Lastly.—Tithes are not required by the gospel, that I can understand, If thou canst make it out, please to do it, for it is clear to me, that Christ came to finish and put an end to that law which required tithes, as well as to the priesthood supported by them. Therefore to continue in the practice of taking tithes, is in effect denying that Christ is come in the flesh to put an end to them, according to Scripture and the practice of former times. For this reason, I think

an active compliance with the law for tithes is sin, and in my opinion, he that payeth or he that receiveth, are equally culpable in God's sight. For this cause we can neither receive nor pay, as this deed of settlement will prove, and more instances of the like kind might be produced from sundry parts of the nation; a plain demonstration, that as we cannot pay tithes, neither can we receive them, when they are as legal a property to us as they are to you.

"I could say more, but what is said may perhaps be tedious, and thought impertinent, therefore for the present this shall suffice.

"To conclude, thou art pleased to give me thy resolution, viz. to have what thou callst thy right; and if I could think it was so too, we should soon reconcile this matter.

"Thou addst, if I am willing to live peaceably, (and I desire no other than a peaceable living) thou wilt be as moderate as I can expect. But this seems an odd way of shewing thy moderation, to employ an attorney; for thou addst, 'for that purpose I have referred the matter to Mr. Smith, to do as he thinks fit,' and that may not perhaps be the best way to shew thy moderation; however, be that as it will, I must tell thee, that what I cannot directly pay, for the reasons aforesaid, I cannot order or allow another indirectly to pay for me; for although I might bribe my conscience, as the chief priests did the soldiers,

and lull it asleep in such hypocrisy, yet an awakening time will come on, when every thought, with every secret thing, will be brought to light, and appear as it is.

"This, with due respects from him who will always be ready and willing to serve thee and thine in any thing I can with a safe conscience, and in any office of love thou mayst command.

"Thy friend and neighbour,

"SAMUEL BOWNAS."

These letters were exchanged between us some weeks before I was made a prisoner, and whether they might soften him or not, I dare not say much; but, as before, he was very uneasy while I was in prison, and, as I was informed, told his attorney and his wife, if he lost his debt, he could not keep me there.

This storm being blown over I enjoyed quietness, save that I was prosecuted for church-rates, small tithes, &c. for the parson would not let his dues, as he called them, run on again in arrears, but would take it in kind every year, so he never had me before a justice again, but if he could not have it in one thing would take another. I now had nothing but my business that lay upon me, save the attendance of meetings for worship and discipline, with marriages and burials, which took up pretty much of my time,

there being very few to attend such services in the country; so that I had sometimes long journeys on those occasions.

On the 21st of the eighth month, 1715, I set out from home, and visited Taunton, Wellington, Milverton, Spiceland, Collumpton, and Topsham, where the quarterly-meeting for Devonshire was held at that time. I was at three meetings there to good satisfaction. From thence to Sticklepath, and Launceston, where I had a very large and good meeting. From thence to Port-Isaac and Falmouth, visiting friends to Penryn. The quarterly-meeting was held at Falmouth, and I had very agreeable service. From thence to Penryn, Market-Jew, and Penzance, so back to Falmouth. From thence to Austle, Tregony, Looe and Liskeard, Germains, Plymouth, Kingsbridge and Totness. I had meetings at all these places, some of which were very large and satisfactory; and at Exeter likewise. From that to Chard, and so home. In this small journey I had about thirty-eight meetings, and travelled about three hundred and fifty miles.

In about a year or two after this, my wife was taken with a lingering disorder, and with a view to her recovery I applied myself to several doctors, but all in vain, for she continued wasting more than two years and eight months, growing weaker apace a few weeks before she died, which was in the eighth

month, 1719. She died in a sweet frame, often saying, that nothing troubled her, but that she was so easily deceived about the parson's tithe, which being done in ignorance, not designedly, she was the more easy about it.

After this I was at a straight what course to take for some time, being in considerable business, which I kept on that winter, and in the spring put it off to my servant, and let what little estate I had to him, putting off all business, and went the next summer into my own country, the North, to visit my friends. I went to the yearly meetings at Bristol and London, in course as they came, and travelled from London through Hertfordshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire to Leeds, visiting the meetings of friends as I passed along. I was at sundry very large open meetings in my way to the yearly-meeting at York, which was very large, and a great number of ministers of both sexes. I had no time till the last meeting, and the time of that was far spent before I began, but then I took my time pretty thoroughly, being opened very largely in the distinguishing between true and false religion, setting them as it were side by side, that they might judge for themselves of both the worship and the ministry, with their different effect upon the minds of men and women in regulating our passions, and reforming our minds. I also opened pretty fully the danger that

ministers were in, to preach from the letter instead of the spirit; and that our former openings and experiences alone were not to be depended upon, but our safest and best support in that work, was the immediate ability of the spirit, opening our understandings in matter suitable to every state, that our words might be fitly spoken; then they would carry their own evidence, and be serviceable to the hearers. I was very large and particular on these heads; and there being numerous clergymen, and teachers of other societies present, I did not hear of any objection made to the doctrine they had heard. Some of our friends thought, however, what I had to say about the ministry would have been better delivered in the meeting of ministers; but that would not have answered so well, as to the teachers of other societies, who might want instruction in these things, perhaps more than our own people did. This was a very high day, and I found in myself afterwards great satisfaction and peace.

I now visited friends towards Kendal, and through part of Cumberland and Northumberland, into Scotland, having for my companion a young man from Sedberg, whose name was John Blamore. I found friends in that nation very much decreased in number, above one half, and sundry meetings quite dropped, except when a friend came to visit them.

I spent about six weeks in that nation, but nothing extraordinary happened. I returned into Cumberland, visiting most of the meetings in that county. Our friends had at Cockermouth appointed a meeting to be held the day after the fair, at the time called Michaelmas, and it was in the most hot time of the opposition the Pearsons gave to friends; Job and his brother being at that fair on their business, they gave out that they would be at the meeting the next day, which gave an alarm to both town and country people, so that it was a very large meeting; and as Job and I had been very friendly before he fell into these ranting fits, some friends thought he would shew me some respect, more than he had done to some others, having been heard at times to speak in my favour. But James Dickenson being present, whom they had abused so very much, said, "I should be pleased to see a friendly meeting between Job and my friend, but I little expect it." The meeting came on, and was very large, and very open and quiet; neither Job nor his brother came, being otherwise employed; having some concerns with some countrymen in the fair, they went to an ale-house to settle their affairs, and differed so much about them, that from words they proceeded to blows, and this affray took place during the time of the meeting, so we were free from any of their disturbance, and a sweet, comfortable, quiet meeting we had to great satisfaction.

From Cockermouth I visited the rest of the meetings in that part of the county, and so into Westmoreland again, visiting all the meetings in that county, and through the dales to Richmond and York quarterly meeting, the winter quarter, which was very large, considering the season of the year. I had sundry satisfactory times amongst friends, both in meetings for business, and amongst the ministers, in very freely opening, and shewing my dear brethren and sisters, in the openings of divine life, the experience and knowledge that I had attained to in the work of the gospel, finding my spirit much enlarged in the setting forth thereof. But the last meeting I was at in York, was on the first-day, in the evening by candle light, and the crowd in the house was so very great, that the candles would hardly burn, some were quite extinguished with the breath of the people; the excessive crowd made it very troublesome for want of room, and not so edifying as if the company had been less.

From thence I went to Bridlington, Oustwick, Northcave, visiting meetings till I came to Bradford and Leeds: I had some very large open meetings in that part, as at Brighouse, Highflats, Sheffield, &c.

I travelled to Nottingham, and had some meetings in that county, and so on to Leicester, had sundry small meetings thereabout, and some who were convinced in my first travelling thither, were glad to see me, and I them, so we claimed kindred in the truth.

I now made a kind of a short visit in my way to London, which I visited thoroughly, staid in the city four weeks, and had very good satisfaction. Returning through part of Berkshire, I had at Reading two very large meetings, and so into Dorsetshire, having no meetings after Reading till I came there, and so to the quarterly meeting in Somersetshire, which being the spring quarter, was held at Glastonbury, very large it was indeed. Then back to Somerton monthly meeting, visiting meetings to and fro, being at sundry funerals, both before and after the yearly meeting at Bristol, which was this year very large. From that meeting, I went towards London, visiting meetings in my way thither, and after yearly meeting was over I returned by Alton, Ailsford, Romsey, Southampton, and the Isle of Wight, and back to Ringwood to the quarterly meeting for Hampshire, and to Poole yearly meeting, it being there this year. After which I came to Bridport, quartering at Caleb Hill's, who married my niece; and this summer, before the yearly meeting at London, I had made my addresses to the widow Nichols, leaving the matter to her consideration, and now I renewed the suit. In the eighth month, with sundry other friends, I went to solicit the parliament for an amendment of the affirmation, in which undertaking we were favoured with success, which was of very great advantage to the society, and the good effects of it soon appeared.

I returned home in the spring, and then proceeded in my addresses to the widow, and we were married in the second month, 1722, and went to London yearly meeting together, which was to very great comfort.

I returned directly home with my wife, and being in a coach, had no opportunity of visiting meetings either going or coming. Having arrived safely home, I applied myself to assist my wife in her business as well as I could, attending general, monthly and other meetings on public occasions for three years. Then I had a concern to visit America once more, which my poor wife could not at first with ease consent to, although I had laid it before her when I first made my addresses to her, yet when it came to be put in practice was not easily got over. Afterwards, however she gave me freely up to go with my son-in-law; and I got ready and went off, before it was thought of by almost anybody but the friends in our own neighbourhood. However, that it might not look like stealing away, I wrote to some of my chosen friends at London, in the North, Bristol, and elsewhere through this nation, and to some few in Ireland, being willing to advise them where to meet me with letters in that country. Now having nothing more to do, my wife brought me on my way to Poole, at which place, before I went off, I received answers to sundry of my letters, some of which, if brevity did

not require the contrary, would well deserve a place here.

I shall now proceed to give an account of my last journey into America.

CHAPTER IV.

An account of his travels in America, the second time, in the year 1726, in the work of the ministry.

I left my home the 22nd day of the tenth month, 1726, being accompanied by my dear wife, a kinsman, and a son-in-law, to Poole, in order to take shipping there with my son-in-law Josiah Nicholson, but the ship was not quite ready; and when it was, the wind being against us, we were obliged to stay there about five weeks, so I had sundry satisfactory opportunities both amongst Friends and others.

All being ready, and my wife also gone home some days before, we set sail out of Studland bay, the 24th of the eleventh month, with a fair wind and pleasant weather, which carried us a considerable distance off the land; it held however, but three days, and then the wind turned contrary and blew hard, which made me very sick, and other ways out of order, so that I almost despaired of my life for a few days, but I had great comfort and peace of mind, being satisfied that I was in my place, and in the way of my duty. I recovered as the weather grew better, and the sea

quieter, but we had a very long and tedious passage, being eleven weeks and two days upon the ocean, from land to land; and on the 14th of the second month 1727, we landed at Hampton, otherwise Kick-atan in Virginia, and that evening I got a passage in a Poole ship up to Sleepy-hole, and about the 11th hour arrived at Robert Jordan's being very weary, though very glad, that I had reached so good a place, where I had such a hearty welcome, and had so great an income of peace and comfort. This being on the seventh day of the week, the next morning I went to a funeral about twenty miles, which was a long journey on my first arrival; and considering the inhabitants are but thin, there was a great concourse of people on that occasion, and I had a pretty open time, considering I had not quite recovered of my weakness; besides, the motion of the sea was very much in my head, so that I had a great dizziness and swimming, which made me reel like a drunkard, as is common in the like case.

After meeting I went with my friend Robert Jordan to an inn, near to the place where his son Robert was a prisoner, who was a pretty youth, and had a very serviceable ministry. The father and I staid with the prisoner all the next day, and in the evening we went to lodge at the prisoner's house, his poor wife being alone; and although her husband was confined, she was cheerful. We had a meeting in the prison to

good satisfaction, and many people came to it, and were very orderly.

From thence I went to a meeting at the western branch of Nansemund river, and was at the funeral of a young man who was very much lamented. After this I went that night towards Chuckatuck, where I had a fine comfortable opportunity; and on the road, I had some discourse with an ancient friend, concerning the health of the country, we supposing people did not live so long in Virginia as in Europe. This friend told me, that the first man-child who was born in that province of English parents, lived eighty years, and that many since had lived considerably longer; so that it is not the climate, but the intemperance of the people that shortens their days, for experience made it appear, that temperate people lived there much the same time as they did in Europe. But this first-born of the province was very remarkable, for it was said that he, being disaffected to the then government, and uttering some treasonable expressions against it, was tried, and found guilty, and condemned to die for that crime; but when it was made to appear, that he was the first male-child born in the province of the English nation, it was resolved that he should be pardoned. Thus he was preserved from that untimely end, to run out nature's race, which was eighty years.

I went after this meeting to visit the prisoner, and next day was at a funeral, the people being very

humble, by reason of a great mortality, so that preaching the gospel had a very great effect upon them, and several were convinced. Next day I went to Levy-neck, had a meeting, and went next day to Surrey meeting house to a funeral, having been at four in about two weeks. After this I took a turn round again to Levy-neck otherwise Pagan Creek, and had a meeting. Thence to Rasker's-neck, had a meeting, and so round till the quarterly-meeting was at hand; and then came on to the prisoner's house, viz. Robert Jordan's, to lodge.

Next day at the meeting I met with a friend from London, whose name was Joshua Fielding, who had visited that province, and South Carolina, and had travelled by land to North Carolina, about five hundred miles, in about three weeks, mostly alone, which was a difficult and hazardous attempt. Some thought it too great an undertaking, and seemed to blame him for it, but he got safe through, though he had no provision but what he carried with him, and met with but about four or five houses or plantations in all that five hundred miles' travel, which obliged him to lodge in the woods frequently; but having a small pocket compass, it was his guide, when the sun and stars were hid from him. But I have since heard, that some others have travelled over this same ground (plantations and settlements being now placed at proper distances) with less hardship, they having a

road marked out by the government; and now they may accomplish this journey without so frequently lying in the woods, as when this friend came from thence. I was at the quarterly-meeting which was held on the seventh and first day, and it being very hot weather, made it a little tedious to bear, there being a great crowd of people; but the meetings ended well, and were of good service.

Thence I went to Levy-neck, and visited all the meetings up to Curls on the banks of James's river, and had an open good meeting there, though small. Thence to Gerrard Ellison's and had a large and open meeting. Thence to Rappahannock Ferry, travelling sixty miles that day. I lodged at a poor widow's house, no friend by profession, but she was exceedingly kind. I had something to say in prayer before meat, with which she was greatly affected, and broken into tears with some others of the family. When we left her in the morning, she would not be prevailed upon to take any thing for our quarters, but desired that she might be favoured with such guests often. I gave her children something, and we left her in much love and tenderness. Thence I travelled towards Maryland, about seventy miles, and had but one meeting in the way, where lived William Duff who was at that time a very tender and serviceable man.

The yearly-meeting in Maryland now came on, which lasted four days, viz. three for worship, and one for business. Many people resort to it, and transact a deal of trade one with another, so that it is a kind of market or 'change, where the captains of ships and the planters meet and settle their affairs. This draws abundance of people of the best rank to it, it being in that called the Whitsun week.

After this meeting I visited the province on that side of the bay fully, from Patuxant, and some other places where meetings had not been, missing no place till I came up to the head of the bay; but nothing uncommon happened at these meetings, which were about eight in all. Then I ferried over the great river Susquehannah to Nottingham in Pennsylvania, many friends having come from thence into Maryland to meet me, and conduct me over that large ferry, which was attended with pretty much danger, it being a wide and very rough sea. I seemed in more danger than when I was upon the ocean in the greatest storm we met with, but through mercy we all got safe over, although with hard labour, great care, and difficulty; and the first meeting that I had in that province was at Nottingham, and I had two in that township. Then I visited the meetings as they came in course, as New-garden, London, Grove, Kennet, Concord, Chester, Springfield, and so to Philadelphia.

A great number of friends came out of Philadelphia to meet me, which gave me great uneasiness, fearing I should never be enabled to answer the high expectations that were raised by such a conduct; it were better to forbear such doings, for it is rather a hurt than a help.

I shall now give my opinion of those meetings which were so very large, several of them amounting to fifteen hundred, and some more, and mostly another generation. For very few of the elders, that twenty years before were serviceable, zealous men, were now living; and now many of the rising youth did come up in the form more than in the power and life, which their predecessors were in. Nevertheless, there was a fine living people amongst them, and they were in a thriving good way, sundry young ministers being very hopeful, both men and women.

I was at three meetings in Philadelphia, exceedingly large, more like yearly-meetings than common first-day meetings; after which I staid but two nights, being in haste to reach a yearly or quarterly-meeting held 300 miles farther north, at Newport on Rhode Island; so I travelled from thence to Burlington, Crosswicks, Stony-brook and Woodbridge, and had meetings at all those places. Then to Long Island, where I was at a yearly meeting, as they called it, at Newtown, on the first day of the week, and it was very large of both friends and other people. Here I

met with several of my former friends, as John Rodman, Hugh Copperthwaite, Samuel Bowne, and sundry others, that had been of great comfort and support to me in my imprisonment on that Island, and we were truly glad to see and enjoy each other in the truth of the gospel.

Thence I took my journey through Connecticut, near two hundred miles, to Rhode Island, and went round from Newport visiting the meetings, as at Seconnet, Cockset, Dartmouth, and back again to the Island, and so to the quarterly meeting at Newport, which was very large and continued three days. In it I was largely drawn forth to the elders and ministers, there being pretty many of them, and had very good satisfaction in all their meetings. From thence back to a monthly meeting at Dartmouth, which was very large; but a narrowness of spirit did some hurt amongst them, and produced some uneasiness, which was chiefly occasioned by a young man's being, as some thought, too much in the fashion, although plain, compared with some others; yet some thought this reason sufficient to refuse his proposal of marriage among them, although well recommended from the monthly meeting where he was a member; upon which I shewed them, that as he was so well recommended by certificate, they could not reject his proposal according to our discipline. The meeting, after we had some farther

conference about it, let the young people proceed, and matters grew easy, and the cloud of difference dispersed and vanished, which was like to have hurt both monthly meetings.

From thence I went about five miles to Joseph Russel's, in order to take shipping for the Island of Nantucket. We met with some difficulty in the passage, and were obliged to put into the Island called Martha's Vineyard, but had no meeting in it. After landing on Nantucket on the sixth day of the week, notice being given, the next day we had a very large meeting in the forenoon, and on first day it was much larger, especially in the afternoon; and the inhabitants generally inclining to friends, there was great love and unity amongst them. I then desired a select meeting of the elders, to whom I had something in particular relating to discipline and the ministry, which was of good service and well accepted. After this I staid two meetings more, and visited sundry families on the Island, and then took shipping back again, was two nights on board, and being in an open boat, and the weather very hot, it was tedious; several of the Island came with us and we landed at John Russel's, and from thence, (having Nathaniel Starbuck with me) we came to a small meeting called Seepecan, and so to Suckenaset.

Here a man gave some uneasiness, by raising objections against the light, as not being universal,

rendering the doctrine, as he would expound it, against reason, urging, that the natural consequence must hold forth as many Christs as people, that were enlightened by him. To this I answered, by alluding to the natural sun, which enlightens the earth, and every dwelling, so that we frequently say, when the rays of light from the sun come into the room, the sun shines into it, but the sun is not therefore divided, but it is the same sun which enlightens the house here, that does the same to another elsewhere; even so is the Light of Christ. He is the true light that enlightens every man coming into the world. Thus expounding and illustrating the doctrine of the light, the people, who were but few, seemed much affected therewith. I had also in my doctrine that day laid down, the kingdom of God, or of heaven, to be within, and that it was equally universal with the light; but at that he cavilled likewise, but made nothing of it, for I had it upon me to open and set forth what the kingdom in this place meant, and how it ought to be understood, plainly shewing, that by the kingdom of heaven was meant the divine seed in the heart, otherwise called the grace of God, which, as every one makes it the rule of their actions, both in a moral and religious conduct, teaches us our duty to God and one another, by which we are brought under the government of Christ, and thereby made partakers of that peace within, which may be

justly termed the kingdom of heaven within. So the objections thus made by this forward man, though weak and impertinent, gave me an opportunity to explain the doctrine of the gospel more clearly; for although such objectors seldom intend any good, yet good often comes out of their objections.

From thence I travelled to Sandwich, Yarmouth, Scituate, and then to a meeting where Michael Wanton lived, and so for Boston, visiting the meetings to Lynn, Marblehead and Salem; but nothing happened at any of these meetings worthy of note. I came then to Newbury, the town which I mentioned in my first journey, but there were very few friends here now, not above nine or ten in all. The people had notice, but the room was very small, and the priest came, and did all he could to hinder the people from coming in, making a very great noise concerning the danger of our principles and doctrines. I endeavoured to press him to shew wherein, but he evaded that as much as possible, and made general charges against us; but by being closely pressed, at last he pitched upon our denying the scriptures, baptism and the supper, and the resurrection of the body. I bid him stay, and first prove that we denied the scriptures, and so the rest in order, as they came in course; for I asserted that we owned the scriptures, and he said we did not. I demanded proof of him, otherwise he must be concluded a false accuser. He

attempted it but could make nothing of it. When he had said what he could, I told him, his accusation in this point relating to the scriptures must be false, for that it was publicly known, that both in our preaching and also in our writings, frequent recourse was had to the text, to prove our doctrine, and this must be a plain demonstration and proof, that we owned the scriptures. The people allowed this to be right, and he coming off so lame at first, would proceed no farther in that public manner, but would have me go to his house, and talk these matters over in his closet. I told him his meeting house was more proper for such a conference than his closet, and there I would meet him when he pleased; for I told him that I had heard that he treated the doctrines held by us, in his pulpit, very unhandsomely, where he knew none dared to oppose him, and if he would clear these things up, I should be pleased with an opportunity to hear him do it in as public a way as he had defamed us, either to make proof of his charges, or retract them; but he would not permit any such things. He had charged friends with denying the scriptures, Christ, the resurrection of the body, and that we pretended to revelation now, although, as he said, it had ceased some generations since. He being a hot, weak man, just set up in his trade, did by this way endeavour to ingratiate himself into the minds of the people,

but he lost ground by it greatly, so that he could make nothing of it but noise and tumult; we parted, and I was told that some of his own people blamed him much, for the interruption he gave me, and for endeavouring to hinder the people from coming to hear for themselves.

From thence I went to Aimsbury, and Hampton, and it being their monthly meeting, I was concerned to stir up friends to keep a faithful record of all their sufferings, to be made use of as occasion might require, the priest's hearers having made spoil of friends' goods to support their own false ministry, with which some people were so uneasy and oppressed that complaints in almost every township appeared against them.

From thence I came to Dover; it was their monthly meeting likewise. They were very illiterate and managed their affairs but indifferently, chiefly occasioned for want of some better hands to write and keep their books in order. I was likewise concerned here to put them upon recording their sufferings, and in a way how to do it; for they were sufferers not only on account of the hireling preachers, to maintain them in their pride and idleness, but also on the account of bearing arms, which was likewise pretty heavy upon them in some towns; in others, however, their neighbours were moderate, and made not much ado about them.

Some, however, complied to pay off their quota about bearing arms, who would not pay a doit to the parson, they seeing very clearly, that they were wrong, and preached themselves, and for themselves. We had a fine agreeable time in conference, and there appeared both great sincerity and innocency amongst them. I was at their first-day meeting, which was very large, and to great satisfaction. After meeting, finding that some misunderstanding was amongst them about the building of a meeting house, we got them together, (my dear friend Nathaniel Starbuck from Nantucket being still with me,) and we endeavoured to persuade them to peace and love, in which we were successful. We appointed a meeting there, which was attended by all, or the greatest part, of friends in that monthly meeting, and a fine comfortable opportunity we had, and they seemed all very easy and reconciled one to another.

I proceeded from thence to Strawberry-bank, otherwise called Portsmouth, but it proved an unsuitable time, because all the country had come together, the military part especially, with all their arms and accoutrements of war, to proclaim King George the Second, (news having arrived three weeks before, that his father had died on his way to Hanover), and also on account of the peace that was concluded with the Indians. However, notwithstanding the vast crowd and hurry, we had a very quiet, though but

small meeting; and notice having been whispered, that there was to be a marriage at Dover on a day appointed, many in curiosity came to it, and the people seemed much pleased with our way of marrying, few of them having been at any before. All ended quietly, without any dispute. Then we had another meeting at the new meeting house, after which I found a concern to desire an opportunity with the ministers and elders, to endeavour to keep in the unity of the spirit amongst themselves, that they might be good examples to the flock over which they were to watch, and to be ready and willing to administer good counsel, which the apostle calls feeding the flock; and this he recommends to the elders as their business. Also that the ministers look well to their gifts, carefully avoiding either to abridge or enlarge in their ministry beyond the true opening of life in themselves, labouring with diligence and humility to evince the truth of their own words by their own conduct, that no blemish or spot might appear amongst them, nor any just ground to reproach them with teaching others what they did not practise themselves, being careful in conduct, that their words and actions might be agreeable; this would give authority to their ministry, and attract honour and respect from their hearers.

From thence I went to visit the widow Hanson, who had been taken into captivity by the Indians, an

account of which I took from her own mouth, being in substance as follows :—

"Eleven naked Indians came with violence upon the family and killed two of the children just as they entered the house; two more little boys being at play behind the house, when they heard the noise, came running in great surprise, the younger of whom could not be prevailed upon to moderate his grief, whereupon one of the Indians with a tomahawk (a little hatchet) struck him on the head and killed the poor child, to rid themselves of the noise, and to prevent their being discovered, and to strike the greater terror upon those in the house. They then rifled the house of what they thought proper to carry away. They took the poor woman, who had laid in but two weeks, along with them by force and violence, with her little infant, and two daughters, one son, and a servant maid: it being in the afternoon, the Indians were in a great hurry to force them away as far as they could that night, for fear of being pursued, and the prisoners retaken. Thus they travelled for twenty days, passing through many lakes and rivers, notwithstanding which they took no cold, but their health was preserved." The incredible and severe trials the poor woman and her children went through, during their captivity, I cannot here describe to the full, in all which they were remarkably favoured by Providence, enduring hard labour, though they were

driven to very great straits for want of provisions, being necessitated to eat old bear and beaver-skin matchcoats, first singing the hair off. After my return to Europe, I saw at Dublin a relation of this extraordinary affair in a printed narrative, which was brought over by a friend from America.

Now being easy to leave these parts for the present, I returned towards Hampton, but in the way had a comfortable meeting at a town called Stratham, and so to Hampton, Aimsbury, Haverhill and Newbury, the place where the priest had before given us so much disturbance; however, although he had notice of the meeting, he came not, and but a very few of his people: it was but a small meeting, yet peaceable.

Then I returned to Lynn, where there was a yearly meeting, which was very large, and I had good service in it. Then to Salem, it being their yearly-meeting for worship, and quarterly meeting for disipline, which was exceedingly large; they had a meeting of ministers and elders, in which I was much enlarged in advice to both. Then came on the quarterly-meeting, in which, for want of better writers and method, they were somewhat deficient in their business, thereby becoming tedious to themselves. I endeavoured to put them in a better method, which they took very kindly and well; and after this was ended, a parting-meeting of worship was held, which was very large, and was attended by abundance of presbyterians and

other people. I was very much drawn forth into various branches of doctrine, and the meeting ended well; no cavil or dispute arising, to which they are but too liable.. I was informed, that what I had delivered was taken down in writing, but I never saw it, though a friend had a sight of it, and the writer said, he did it with a view to have it printed by subscription, and get something by it.

Not finding myself clear, I returned back with friends to Haverhill, and next day had a comfortable little meeting there. Thence to Hampton and Dover, it being yearly meeting there; they have in almost every place once a year a general meeting, which they call a yearly meeting, and by this popular title many more people come together, in expectation of something extraordinary there to be met with; it held two days, and was to very good satisfaction. Next day I had a meeting on Kittery-side, in an old meeting house which the presbyterians had erected, but not being in so convenient a place for them, they had left it.

Many, both friends and others came, and before it was quite gathered, the priest with a large company came in, and immediately began to pray, continuing a long time: but as soon as he had done I spoke to the people with some authority, which seemed to daunt the priest, who it was thought intended to have taken up all the time himself, and to have put us by; if he had succeeded, they would have gloried and triumphed much, but therein they were disappointed. In

the course of my ministry, I insisted on the danger of neglecting the work of our salvation, speaking cautiously, that such an omission might be irreparable.

The priest replying, said, that should be expressed, "will be irreparable." I desired him not to disturb us, for we did not him; and repeating my words over again, with this addition, "I dare not speak conclusively of the mercy of God, who is able by Christ to save us at the hour of death." After this he was silent, only writing when he thought he had room to cavil, but he was soon weary, for I was very strong both in power and doctrine, and great tenderness was among the people, which was strange to him, and scripture came very apt to confirm my doctrine. The priest growing weary would stay no longer, but walked off, inviting the people to go with him, but very few went. We had a very good, serviceable opportunity, and the meeting ended very quiet and well.

Next day I went to Portsmouth, having been there before at an improper time, but now we had an excellent meeting; then I was at the new meeting house, about which they had some uneasiness; and we had a meeting to very good satisfaction, and friends appeared well reconciled. I afterwards went once more to visit the widow Hanson, who had, as before related, been taken captive. From thence to Stratham, having had a meeting there two or three weeks before, and the people were very much affected: but the priest

hearing of it, was very uneasy, and went among his hearers, begging and praying them not to converse with the quakers, if they could avoid it, so that there were but few that came; amongst whom was a man in drink, that cavilled, and would pretend to a disputation, but he was so much in liquor that he rambled in his discourse, and knew not what he said; he went away in a rage, cursing as he went along. From thence I came to Hampton, and Aimsbury, and had meetings at both places. Thence to Newbury and had a meeting, to which the priest was again invited, but he did not come near us. Next day I was at their monthly meeting, which was but dull. Next day I was up in the woods, at a new place, where there were many people, and we had a good meeting. Next day I was at a marriage, which was held in a presbyterian meeting place, being a very commodious, handsome house, and would contain near two thousand people, as some said; however, it was as full as it could well contain, and the meeting was very easy and quiet. Sundry teachers from the neighbouring towns were there, and I was apprehensive of some jangling and dispute, but all went off very quiet and well. I was largely opened to set forth the service of our monthly meetings, with respect to taking care of the poor, deciding of differences, and taking cognizance of marriages; at which the people seemed pleased, wondering that they had no such

order amongst them. This was a very high day, and ended well.

Next day I went to Lynn, and had sundry meetings at fresh places about Lynn, Marblehead, Salem, and in several little villages towards Boston. Taking my leave of friends in that part of the country, I came to Boston, and had two meetings there. Then I went to Mendam, Providence, and Swansey, alias Wickapinsett, and had meetings; and then to Scituate yearly meeting, which lasted two days, but nothing happened uncommon, save that the parting meeting at Pembrook was very large, very open, and to good satisfaction. I had a small meeting at Hanover and Freetown, and so back to Wickapinsett again, and then for Rhode Island quarterly meeting. The first day I had something to say to the ministers and elders about the discipline of the church, warning them to look diligently to the flock; and letting them know that the apostacy was partly occasioned by the ministers and elders neglecting their duty, &c. Next day was the meeting of ministers and elders, and I was very much drawn forth to both. Then I had a meeting at Providence middle meeting house, which was but small, but pretty well. Then by Mendam I went to Leicester, and had a sweet good time with a few seeking people, and in the evening I had a long conference with a young woman about the sabbath, the sacraments, (so called) and some other

points; in all which she seemed very tender, and in a good frame. I told her I would not treat her as a disputant, in an adverse temper, but as a sister and friend in the same faith in degree; but she complained much of the bondage of her education, and lamented her case.

From thence I went to Oxford, where was no meeting settled, or any friend in the place; the priests did all that in them lay to hinder the people from coming to hear friends, when any came amongst them, if they knew it; however, we had a good opportunity. Thence to the meeting in that great house, not far from Seth Aldrich's, which was a fine, full, and comfortable meeting. Then to the upper meeting house, and so to Moshantatuck, and to Warwick, and had meetings in those places. One Hugh Adame, a priest, had challenged friends, he having undertaken to prove infant sprinkling from Scripture, to be an ordinance of Christ. But in the proof he came off very lamely, Samuel Aldrich, an excellent and ingenious disputant, was by appointment, to manage the arguments on friends' side, and none else. Such arguments, however, the priest brought for their sprinkling as were entirely new to the audience; one was, the spray of the Red Sea, when the children of Israel went through it, by the strength of the wind sprinkled the children, viz. infants as well as old people; and as the apostle

said, "they were all baptized in the cloud and in the sea." This was full proof of the point for infant-sprinkling, he said. But Samuel made an excellent short discourse on the text, very much to the purpose, and he had so much the ascendant in the argument on every branch, that the priest lost ground, and several of his brethren being there, were much ashamed of him.

Then I returned back to Rhode Island, and so to Cockset yearly-meeting, which was very large; and then to Dartmouth yearly-meeting, which was likewise very large, and that evening was at a meeting of ministers, wherein I had much to say on sundry heads proper to them. And next day being the yearly-meeting, it was very large, as before, there being a great resort of people many miles round. It held three days, and ended to the satisfaction of most. This evening, as I was going to bed, about ten at night, there was an exceeding great earthquake, that made a noise like the driving of carts or waggons on an uneven causeway. It continued about two minutes, to the great surprise of the people. It was felt about fifteen hundred miles, as was afterwards computed, and as was thought by calculation, was not quite three hours in going that space.

From thence I went into the Island, and took my last farewell of my friends in that part of the country, having made a thorough visit amongst them. The

weather by this time grew very cold, it being the beginning of the ninth month; however, I proceeded to Connecticut, James-town, Kings-town, and to Greenwich monthly meeting. From thence Seth Aldrich, John Casey, John Earle, and Peleg Spencer accompanied me, and we travelled into the presbyterian country; and first, at a town called Preston, we had a small meeting, and hearing of a funeral about three miles off, we went thither. The people (who, as we apprehended were baptists) seemed much surprised; and our not joining a young man who prayed amongst them, made them look more shyly on us. The poor man seemed in confusion. But, when he had done, we had a fine opportunity to good satisfaction. Then we took our journey towards New London, and, on the way, had a small opportunity amongst some presbyterians. Such of them who were bigoted that way, were difficult to speak to about the inward work: they could not receive it. Thence to New London, on Gratton side, to one James Smith's, who was one of Rogers's kind of baptists; but his wife was convinced, and they were under great persecution by the presbyterians, both in body and goods. I had a meeting at John Rogers's on New London side; and he objected against the universality of the light that saves, and about baptism. He had much to say for the continuance of water baptism; but, at the same time, would allow that

there was no real spiritual benefit in it at all, and he asserted that that light which condems for evil, was but the tree of knowledge, and not saving; but Christ's light which saves, was another thing, endeavouring hereby to divide between the light that condemns and that which saves, making them two different principles from each other. I took the bible, and turning to the first of John the evangelist, shewed him, that the light there spoken of, as the divinity of Christ the saviour of the world, was the same principle that condemned the disobedient, and justified the righteous; the principle was not divided in itself, nor was it two principles, but one and the same in all. And though the operation of this one light differed, that difference, it was plain, was not in the light itself, but in the different object on which it did operate: as, for example, the same heat of the sun that softens wax will harden clay. This however argues not two different qualities in the heat of the sun, though the effect of its heat is different on wax and clay, by which (although this, or but few allegories will hold throughout) the people saw that his notion of two different lights, one saving, the other condemning, had no foundation in the text. Then as to baptism, he divided the institution into three parts; first, from John; secondly, from the apostles practising it; and, thirdly, from Mat. xxviii. 19. But I told him, as he had already allowed that there was

no real spiritual advantage in outward water baptism, his imaginary division of the institution fell of course: for it was against reason to suppose any thing ordained or instituted by Christ, to be used in his church by believers, could be of no real service; but he allowed that baptism with water is of no real service, therefore it is no institution of Christ. However to conclude this head, we may comparatively with the apostle say, that it is not the outward part of christianity, or baptism, will do any good to believers; but, in reality, he is a christian that is one inwardly; and baptism is that of the heart, and not that in the letter, that is really serviceable and saving. Thus we ended this conference; but he was full of words, and confused in his notions.

I had then another meeting at Gratton, though but small; after that we had an evening meeting at one John Wood's, which was the best we had amongst the people, where some objections were made against public prayer, but their objections were soon removed. And afterwards at Colchester and Hebron we had some good meetings amongst the people, though it was very difficult to get a place to meet in at the former; but a man of resolution offered a place, and there being a town meeting that day, we had a large company, who were very sober,—no cavilling or disputes in the least. Then we came to Seabrook and Killingsworth, and had meetings amongst a

people who had separated themselves from the presbyterians, and inclined to the baptists, and were getting into a lifeless form of singing, and expounding in their own way and carnal manner, which was likely to be a snare to their hurt. We appointed another meeting amongst them, which was but small, all my friends, save John Casey and John Earle, having left me. We now set out for New York, but had no meeting till we came to Rye, which was about eighty-one miles. I was glad and comforted to be amongst our friends again, having been so long from them, they being much more agreeable to me than other people. From thence I went to Marrineck, and over the ferry to Flushing, it being their quarterly meeting, which held three days; the meeting of ministers and elders was of good service, among them were some young ministers; at this quarterly meeting we had a solid time, a large appearance of young friends of both sexes being there. After this meeting I went with Joshua Fielding a little on his way to the eastward; and on returning, I went to visit a friend that was much afflicted with lowness of spirits, and in a despairing way, although he had from his youth been a sober and orderly man; but Providence having favoured him with considerable substance, he imagined he transgressed in having every thing too fashionable and too rich, and that he did not

serve his Maker with his substance as he ought to have done; this was a great load upon him.

From thence I visited Westbury on the plain. Thence to Sequalogue, Huntington and Oyster-bay, and had good and very full meetings. Thence to Martinicock, and Hempstead, where I had but middling times, though very large meetings. I was rather more shut up than I had been for some time before, and being desired to give the poor despairing friend another visit, I went, and found him much out of order, which made it unpleasant to be with him.

I then proceeded to Hempstead and Jamaica, the place where I had been so long a prisoner twenty years before, and had meetings at both places, but the latter was very small for want of due notice. Then to Flushing monthly meeting, which was much to my comfort, not having had so good a meeting for some weeks past. I here received some letters from friends at the eastward, which gave me some agreeable accounts of the effect that my labours had had, by inclining some to our meetings who did not before, in several places where I had meetings, there being a prospect of some coming nearer to the truth and joining the society; withal informing me of the great earthquake before noted, how that at Newbury, Haverill, Aimsbury, and places adjacent, it continued for fourteen days, and was felt a long way on the banks of Maramack River. The account was confirmed

by many who felt it, who declared themselves afraid to remain in their houses during the several shocks, which returned every twenty-four hours, continuing about the space of three minutes. The inhabitants did much blame themselves for their pride and luxury, taking this to be a judgment upon them for those things.

I then went back to visit Westbury, Hempstead, Rockway, and had meetings in all those places, and to Jamaica again, where we had a large open meeting; and those, my old neighbours, among whom I had been prisoner in my first journey, came generally and were glad to see me, as I was to see them, and we had a comfortable opportunity together. After this I visited New-Town, Flushing, and the Kilns by New-Town, having a large meeting; and so to New-York, where I had an evening meeting, not very large. From thence to the Narrows over Staten Island, and to Woodbridge, where I had a meeting; and about three miles distant an evening meeting. Then to Shrewsbury, to their week-day meeting, which was small, but very agreeable. Then to Masquan, and back to Shrewsbury on first-day where was a very large meeting, and very serviceable. Thence to Middle-Town, where the baptists lent us their meeting-house to meet in, although they had given the priest leave to preach there that same day, so that the priest and his hearers came some time

before our meeting was ended, and enlarged it very much; no cavil or dispute happened, but all ended quiet and well. Thence to Freehold, and had a meeting in the court-house to good purpose; although the people were of an ignorant class, who made no profession at all of any religion, yet some of them were very well pleased with that opportunity. Thence to Allen's-Town and Croswicks, and was at their meetings. Then went to visit a friend, who sometimes appeared in public, but there was a difference in sentiment about his appearance: some approved and others disapproved his ministry. But, although the young man had taken offence at those who did not like him, we got some of the most disaffected together and gave him a visit, and by conferring together, the young man and those who were dissatisfied came to a better understanding, which was to our comfort. Thence to Stony-brook, Allen's-Town, and Croswicks again, to the new meeting-house, and to Mount Holy, and had meetings at them all to satisfaction. Thence to one meeting more, and to Haddonfield meeting, Woodbury-Creek, Pilesgrove, Alloway's-Creek, and to Cohansy; but the weather being so excessively sharp, with the extremity of frost, the meetings were exceedingly small. Then to Salem, and had a very large open meeting. And then to Haddonfield and Philadelphia; travelling over Delaware River upon the ice above a mile, and

reached their week-day meeting, which was very small, by reason of the extreme sharpness of the weather. It is almost incredible to think the severity of the frost in those parts; a man could scarcely bear any part of his skin uncovered, for fear of being frozen. I staid in town over first-day, and from thence went to Frankfort, German-town, Abington, and Horsham, and so back to Philadelphia, and staid their meeting of ministers, and was at three meetings on the first day, which were very large and good, especially the first and last. Then I visited Hertford, Radnor, New-Town, Goshen, and the quarterly meeting for the county of Chester, held at Providence, which was very large, especially the meeting of the ministers and elders, for there were there the greatest part of the ministers in the province, and several from Jersey side. It was the greatest meeting of ministers I ever was at in those parts, the time of the year considered, and I was very much enlarged in counsel and advice to them, being never so open on sundry heads before; and in the meeting of business I was drawn forth to shew the qualifications of a right and true elder, and the excellency of right government in the church, which must first be known in our own minds; for such who have not the government of their own spirits, are not fit to undertake the government of others. And after this I had a meeting at Middle-Town, and so to

Providence general meeting; but I had very little to say in either of these last meetings. Thence to Darby, and had a small meeting, and so to Philadelphia, and had a brave meeting, insomuch, that I was filled with admiration at so uncommon a supply of new doctrine every day, which gave me great cause to be more and more humble; and when some friends would speak in favour of such an opportunity, or branch of doctrine, it would give me a shock, lest by any of these unwary commendations, I should take to myself that honor which was due to the Father of Spirits, and so fall into a robbery unawares.

From thence I went to Plymouth, North Wales, Buckingham, Wright's-Town, the Falls, Neshaminy, and Bristol, and had satisfactory opportunities, though some more agreeable than others at each place, and very full meetings, the season considered. From Bristol I went to Burlington, and was at their meeting of ministers, but had nothing to say. I staid the first day meeting, which was very large and serviceable; it was the quarterly meeting time, and the meeting of ministers and elders; and I having had such remarkable times among the ministers, occasioned these meetings to be very large. At this meeting I was divinely opened with fresh matter, setting forth the service of a divine, spiritual ministry, which was free from all contrivance and forecast of the creature, in preparing itself, either with former

openings, or beautiful collections of texts, or sayings from books or writings, all which gatherings would bring death, and could be no other in the best and most favorable construction, though well looked on by some, than the ministry of the letter, under pretence of the ministry of the spirit, which is a deception of the highest nature.

Then I came into Pennsylvania to Wright's Town, was at their meeting of ministers, and had a very agreeable time with them, wherein was shewn the danger of murmuring at the seeming weakness of our gifts, to a degree of dejection, and neglect to exercise ourselves in them; shewing that every gift of the ministry was of great service, though but small in comparison of others, and had a great beauty in it, and that we ought by no means to slight and neglect it, but to think well, and be thankful that the Father of Spirits hath given us a gift, though but small. On the other hand, I had to exhort such as had a more elegant ministry, not to over value themselves upon their gifts, but in humility and with thankful hearts render the honour and praise where due, not looking with an eye of contempt on their supposed inferior brethren and sisters, and in love preferring each other to themselves; more especially considering that mean and plain diet, handled by persons who have clean hands, and clean garments, though but mean to look at, yet the cleanness of their hands

and garments, as also the diet, though plain, put in decent order, renders what they have to offer very agreeable and acceptable to the hungry, and for others we need not be so careful. A friend pleasantly said, after meeting, at his table, I might freely eat, his wife was a cleanly housewife, he being willing to improve the simile to her advantage, as she had something to say, though but little, as a minister, and her husband thought she did not give way to her gift as she ought.

The next day was quarterly meeting in the same place, which was pretty large, and I was drawn forth to set the degrees of elders, as well as their different services, in a proper light, under the similitude of the various instruments made use of in the erecting of a building, and that every instrument or tool had its proper service, when used as occasion required, and every builder to use them at a proper time, and not otherwise.

Thence I went over the river to the Jersey side to one meeting that was large. I then returned to Neshaminy, Bybury, Abington, Horsham, North Wales, and the great Swamp, and had a degree of service and satisfaction in all these places. Thence I went to North Wales to a funeral. Thence to Perkcoming, and had a small meeting; and in returning from thence had an evening meeting at a friend's house, whose name was John Jacobs. From thence to

a funeral at Plymouth, where was a very large company, and a very good meeting. Then to Philadelphia, and was at their half-year's meeting of ministers and elders. Sundry friends came from Long Island, and I was largely opened in it to recommend a stedfast conduct with justice and a single eye to truth and its cause, at all times, and to set forth the service of elders and pillars in the church, shewing how a pillar standing upright would bear a great weight, but if it leaned to either side, it would bend, and perhaps break before it could be set upright again. I had also to warn both ministers and elders against party taking and party making, advising them as careful watchmen to guard the flock, as such who must be accountable for their trust, and in particular, not to dip into differences, the ministers especially, either in the church or private families, but to stand clear, that they might have a place with both parties, to advise and counsel, that so they might be of service in reconciling those who were at variance. And I had a concern to caution the ministers, in their travels, not to meddle with differences, so as to rashly say, this is right, or that is wrong, but to mind their own service, guarding against receiving any complaints of friends' unfaithfulness before a meeting, which I had found very hurtful to me; for such information, without a careful watch, may influence the mind to follow it

rather than the true gift. I had it also to caution the ministers, in their travels, not to be difficult to please with their entertainments, but to shew themselves easy and contented with such as poor friends could let them have, and to guard against carrying stories and tales from one place to another; and that as soon as their service was done, to retire home again; for some, by staying too long after their service was ended, had much hurt themselves, and been an uneasiness to the church. I had likewise to caution against appearing too often or too long in our own meetings, but that ministers should wait in their gifts, for the spirit to put them forth; that they carefully minded their openings, and not go beyond bounds, for if they did, they would lose their interest in the minds of friends, and their service would be lost; always guarding against seeking after praise, or saying any thing in commendation of their own doings, neither to be uneasy when they had nothing to say; as likewise to take care, at such large meetings, not to be forward or too long, because a mistake committed in such a meeting, did much more hurt than it might do in small country meetings. I likewise touched upon the great duty of prayer, requesting all to guard against running into too many words without understanding, but carefully to mind the Spirit, that they might pray with it, and with understanding also.

Next day was the half-year's meeting, being on the first-day of the week, and I was largely opened to show the difference between the true and false church, setting them side by side, that they might judge for themselves. I staid all that week in town, the meeting not ending till fourth-day. I was at the first and third-day's meetings following, and so took my leave.

From thence I came to Derby, Springfield, Merion, Chester, Chichester, Cresteen and Newcastle, and had tolerably good meetings; friends being acquainted that I was now taking my leave of the country, the meetings were very large, and several of them to good satisfaction, much openness and brokenness appearing amongst friends. Thence to George's Creek, Duck Creek, Motherkill, Hoarkills, Cold Spring, and so back to Motherkill, and Duck Creek; had a pretty good satisfaction in these meetings: the friends in these parts were but seldom visited, and but very few public amongst them. The priests both in the church and presbyterians, attempted to do something, but the people being poor, and pension small, they gave out for want of pay.

From thence to Chester in Maryland, where was a half-year's meeting, but the weather being very unseasonable, made it but small; it continued two days and the last meeting was both the largest and best. Thence to Cecil, and back to Gilbert Faulkner's,

John Tibbet's and Duck Creek, and had good opportunities. I took my leave after having one small meeting about nine miles distant, and so went for the quarterly meeting in Maryland at Treadhaven Creek, which was held in the great house; a good meeting, but I found some difficulties and misunderstandings among them, which did them much hurt. Next was at a monthly meeting in the same place, where the uneasiness appeared more plain, but endeavours were used to reconcile matters, and put a stop to the uneasiness.

Thence to the Bayside, Tuckhow, Marchy Creek, Choptank, and had meetings in all these places. Thence to Francequaking, Chickonancomaco, Nanticoke, and over Vienna Ferry, to Mulberry Grove, and had small, but comfortable meetings in all these places. Thence to the widow Gale's at Monay, and had a small meeting in her house. Thence to Annuamessicks, and had a small meeting in the widow Waters's house. Thence to John Curtis's, and had a small meeting at his house; so to Thomas Crippin's, and had a meeting in his house, there being no meeting houses in these places: then one Captain Drummond desired a meeting in his house, which I assented to, and it was to good satisfaction. This Drummond was a judge of the court, and a very sensible man. Thence to Neswadocks, where was a pretty good meeting house, and we had a very large open meeting in it.

Thence to Maggoty Bay, and had a very good

meeting at Edward Mislin's, a fine zealous elder he was; he carried me over the bay in his boat (about twenty leagues they called it) to Nansemund. We landed at old Robert Jordan's, and attended their week day meeting. From thence I went towards Carolina, Joseph Jordan accompanying me on my way to Nathan Newby's, and his son went with me to his uncle Gabriel's. Next day I went to Pascotank, and had a fine open meeting, which was very large, for the inhabitants mostly came to meetings when they expected a preacher, and at other times pretty much. I visited a young man in the neighbourhood, a good minister, but in a declining way; we had a comfortable time with him, he being in a good frame of mind and fit to die. Thence to Little River, and to Pequeman's Booth, to the upper and lower meeting-house, and had very large meetings. Thence Gabriel Newby accompanied me towards Virginia back again; the first meetings we had were at the Western Branch, Pagan Creek, and at Samuel Savory's; we had a pretty comfortable time at the last place. Then to Swan's Point, and over James's River to Williamsburgh, and had a small meeting at each of these last places. Joseph Jordan being with me, we paid the governor a visit, and interceded for his favour, on the behalf of some friends put in prison on account of refusing to train. He was very kind, promising to do what lay in his power for them and our people in

general, and in a little time the friends were set at liberty.

We then went (Joseph being with me) to Skeminhow to the Widow Bate's; it was a yearly meeting at the widow's house, which was pretty large and open. Thence to Black-Creek and to Curl's, and had tolerably good meetings. Then we had a meeting of ministers and elders: there were but a few ministers in those parts, but we had a suitable opportunity to good satisfaction; and indeed it not often fell out, that in such meetings I was in want of matter suitable to their states. Next day was the public meeting, which was large and good. Next day I was at Wine-oak, (these were all called yearly meetings) which was large and good, Joseph Jordan had excellent service in it, but I had very little to say. Thence to Swamp, and to Graffy-swamp, Cedar-creek and Dover, and had fine meetings, people being very ready to attend them: these meetings were held considerably above the falls of James's-river. Thence back over the river to Robert Honycote's, Lemuel Hargrove's, Somerton, and to Nathan Newby's: in all these places I had meetings, and some of them very large and open. From thence into Carolina to their quarterly meeting, and had a meeting at James Griffett's house. Thence to Little-river on the seventh day of the week, and first of the quarterly meeting. Next day the meeting was very large, and

I took my leave of friends therein, and we had a baptizing time together. Then I returned back to Virginia, and was at Nansemund meeting, and had a large meeting at a friend's house, whose name was Levin Buffkin: it was a fine edifying meeting indeed. Then I came to the Branch, and Chuckatuck, at their monthly meeting, but Robert Jordan had all the time, that being his last meeting, he being to come to England, to visit friends, in the same ship with me. Another meeting was appointed at Arnold Wilkinson's, which was small. After meeting I went to old Robert Jordan's, having been made exceedingly welcome, and also had several good opportunities in the family. I went to but two or three meetings more, getting myself ready to return home, and accordingly we took leave, and came down the river to Kickatan, but were forced, in sailing there, by missing the channel, to lie aground by Newport's-nose, near twenty-four hours before we could get to Hampton, and when there staid about a week and four days. George Walker was very kind, invited us to lodge at his house, which we did about four nights, and had a meeting or two in his house, his wife being more loving than I expected. She was George Keith's daughter, and in her younger days shewed great dissatisfaction with friends, but after her father's death the edge of that bitterness abated, and her husband was very loving and hearty to friends, frequently having meetings at his house.

Having lain wind-bound a week and four days, the wind sprung up fair for us, and we weighed anchor the 29th of the fifth month, 1728, with a fresh and fine gale; Robert Jordan seemed much pleased that we were on our way, and a secret joy filled my heart, being thankful that I had been preserved so well in health, and assisted with strength, both of body and mind, to accomplish this long and tedious journey, through the very severe extremes of both heat and cold, in about eighteen months, and missed but seven meetings, which were far back in the woods, viz. one in the government of New York, two in the Jerseys, and four in Pennsylvania. I was not easy to miss them, but my friends thought the weather and season of the year, together with the great scarcity of provision both for man and horse, and the great and thick snow, with the extremity of the frost, rendered that journey hazardous, if not impracticable, and to stay till the winter broke up, I could not see it my place; besides which, by staying so long I should have lost my passage by the homeward bound ships, otherwise I should have been willing to have taken those meetings, if I could have saved my passage, and accomplished it so as I might waste no time, but go on diligently as I had done before. There were but very few of their meetings, but that I visited two, three, and sundry of them four, five, or six times, several of them being situated

in my way in passing to and fro. I was not by any disorder or sickness, or any accident hindered (I think I may safely say) one hour all this time. Indeed friends had sent word to appoint a meeting for me about thirty miles on my way, but the weather was so extremely tempestuous, that when we came there, no meeting was appointed, for it was concluded I could not possibly come, so I was under a necessity to stay one day longer in that place, which was the greatest hindrance that I remember having met with in all my journey.

Now to return: in our voyage, about 250 leagues from land as we thought, the water seemed like a river after a hasty storm of thunder; on seeing it thus, our people were under a surprise, and in that surprise tried with the lead for ground, but could find none; it was so uncommon a thing, that the sailors could not tell what to think of it. This was about the 15th of the sixth month; we had fine pleasant weather, and great plenty of dolphins and other fish, for which providence I was very thankful; but on the 22nd of the same month, about three in the afternoon, an exceeding gust of wind, such a hurricane as our sailors said they never knew, came from the north, which bore so unexpectedly without any warning upon us, that to all appearance our ship would be in a moment swallowed up in the sea, the waves running over us, and the water coming into the great cabin

windows and the forecastle, so that from five or six inches of water in the hold, it so increased, that we had more than so many feet in a few minutes. The decks seemed as though they would break down, being so very heavy with the waves breaking in upon them; they also staved us above a ton and a half of water in casks fastened upon deck, washed some hogs overboard, and drowned several dozen of turkeys, geese and other fowls, which afterwards, with the water and swine, were much missed by us; besides all this, the wind tore our sails like paper, broke our fore-topmast, and several of the yards like rotten sticks, and the round fore-top; the ship by the violence of the tempest lying so much on one side, as though she would not right again, so that they were for cutting away her masts and rigging, but I begged the master not to do it, but to trust in Providence, for I was satisfied she would rise again as soon as the wind abated. The wind began to abate in a little time, and the ship righted, but the tiller of the rudder being broken, it was very dangerous until they had got the rudder fastened, which, shortly before it became dark, was effected with great difficulty and danger; but the sea running so very high, tossed the ship very much, and the sea came in with that violence, that there was no appearance of any thing but foundering and sinking immediately, for some time, especially till the rudder was put to rights. While, how-

ever, they had the command of the rudder there were some hopes of relief, but while the rudder was at liberty there was no commanding the vessel, but she lay at the mercy of the sea, and it seemed as though that would alone carry away her stern, by being forced through the violence of the waves from one side to the other. When, therefore, we had got up the dead lights, and secured ourselves in the best manner we could, all hands went to the pump, for we found between seven and eight feet of water in the hold; but as the tossing of the ship made that very difficult to guess right, it might be more or less; however, having a good ship, new and firm, we found hope increased, but we were all very wet, and very much fatigued, and a dark and troublesome night it was, and we much longed for day, but the wind was very much abated, not lasting above two hours so very strong. When day light came we were glad, but that was soon turned into mourning, by discovering the mean state of our ship, especially of the rigging and sails, and finding so great a loss of water and fresh provision, things of value, next to life itself. All these losses put together were cause of trouble, but by grieving we could not help ourselves, therefore we could with the psalmist, in something of the like nature, say, such trials put people to their wits' end; howbeit, in turning the mind to that divine power and providence which is present every where, ruling both by sea and land, and whom the winds obey, I found comfort in

meditating on his promises to care for those who put their trust in him.

Now our men, who were all preserved from any other damage, saving the taking of cold, which we all felt the effect of to a great degree, went about putting the rigging to rights again, which took up a full week before we could make sail, the wind blowing strong and variable; and when they had got things in a good condition, the wind was against us for several days, which made us thoughtful to take care of what water and provision we had, that we might not be surprised with want, when we had no power to arm against it. Therefore the men were all called up to hear a proposal, which was thus; three pints of water a man for twenty four hours, and five pounds of bread for a man a week, having other provisions, both fresh and salt, a good handsome stock, to the full allowance. At this there was some uneasiness; but this allowance would hold by our calculation but for about four weeks, so that if we saw not some hopes of getting into port in two weeks, we must come to a less allowance again.

The wind continued still against us till the seventh of the seventh month, and then veered a little to the southward, and we, apprehending ourselves to be too much to the north, were not willing, if we could avoid it, to put into Ireland. But in about three days after this we had a brave wind, which lasted for some days, and it gave us hopes of seeing land, which

we much longed for, being threatened with want of provision, of both bread and water, but not flesh, if Providence did not interpose. Our hearts were cheerful, and gladness appeared in every countenance, but alas! it was but a short lived joy, for in the forenoon on the thirteenth the wind scanted upon us again, and about five in the afternoon we sounded, trying for ground, but found none. This made us all look pale, and sadness of heart appeared in every countenance. Besides, our ship being a dull sailer, added somewhat to our trouble, fearing that we were farther from land than we thought by our reckoning, and the greatest comfort we had was a good ship under us, though a heavy sailer, therefore we cheered each other with the hope of gaining our port in due time with safety and comfort. And this I moralized to myself, by considering the resemblance of a christian's progress through this life, sometimes in a degree of prosperity, being under encouragement to press forward with a fair wind, and anon under as great adversity and discouragement by temptations, persecutions and afflictions.

In two days more we sounded, and found ground at eighty two fathoms, judging ourselves from the Lizard sixty leagues; but alas! the wind veered and blew seven days strong against us, so that we were driven from land, as we thought, a hundred leagues. This made us talk of shortening our allowance again,

but that night about twelve o'clock the wind veered in our favour, and the sailors cried, "a large wind a large allowance," nothing being more disagreeable in in its kind than a large wind and short allowance. The wind being fair, we went on with cheerfulness and upon the credit of this fair wind some of the men had not a morsel of bread left by night, nor a spoonful of water, though they had nearly thirty-six hours of their week to come. However we went along so agreeably, that every body looked pleasant, and it was comely to behold; but alas! this lasted but about sixteen hours before it came right in our teeth again, and blew very strong. Such ups and downs we had, that the sailors grew very uneasy, and did curse and swear,—nay did not hesitate to blaspheme in such a way, that made it very painful, and unpleasant to hear; but this did not last long before it was calm, after which the wind came up fair again, and we, speaking with a ship outward bound, they gave us new heart, by informing us that Scilly bore from us north-east about twenty two leagues distance. We also spoke this day with a king's ship called the *Dragon* come from Jamaica, and in the evening saw several ships coming in which made it look very pleasant, besides a fine gale in our favour, so that on the 27th we saw the land about five in the evening, and a ship to windward bore down to us, and told us it was the Lizard, and we then judged that it bore E.N.E. from us about six leagues

distance. Next day the wind was against us, turning in the night E. N. E. so that we lost sight of the land again, but tacking and standing the other way we soon saw it, and having the tide under foot, though but a scant wind, we shot in a considerable way, but after the tide was spent, we thought we lost ground; the wind afterwards veered to our advantage, and a better gale helped us much, so that on the 28th we shot pretty near in, thinking to have put into Falmouth, but the wind being still more favourable, we stood for the Ramhead.* Then it grew almost calm, so that what we got by the flood we lost by the ebb, and we could but just discern the Eddystone, like the mast of a ship through a glass, and scarcely at all with the naked eye; but on the 29th, it being the first day of the week, having a fine tide and good wind all in our favour, gave us some hopes of getting into Plymouth by meeting time, the very thought of which was agreeable: but alas, by eight in the morning we found, to our sorrow, the tide against us, and the wind dying away, we lost ground, but shortly after the wind blew pretty strong and fair, then we found we stemmed the tide and got a little forward, and when the ebb was spent, the flood with the wind came in very strong, though a neap tide, so that we neared the land very fast, and about two in the afternoon came abreast the Eddystone, about a musket shot from it, and had a full view thereof, going along with pleasure. In

* A point of land, so called.

about a quarter of an hour after this, pilots came off, several ships wanting safe conduct, and about nine we got safe to an anchor, just by the passage against Edgecombe house, and on the 30th I landed at Plymouth, and staid in town that day, and was very thankful I was safe on shore again, having been just nine weeks on our passage, and the last five of it was a very trying and afflicting time, but the four first were very pleasant and comfortable.

Being now on shore amongst my friends, I took horse the 1st of the eight month, and came to Exeter that night. Next morning, being the 2nd of the month and fourth day of the week, I came home, and as I entered my own house, oh! the inward comfort and pleasure which I felt, ravished my heart, that I could scarcely forbear crying out, "God! that God who judgeth men, is just in all his ways, and rewardeth peace into the bosoms of those who fear and obey him." And being kindly received by all my family and friends, made my return exceedingly delightful.

In about twenty two months and odd days I finished this journey, from the 22nd of the tenth month, 1726, to the 2nd of the eighth month, 1728, and in that time I had travelled by land and over rivers about five thousand three hundred and twenty two miles, besides passing and repassing the great ocean; and as I had been out of that country some-

what more than twenty one years, and found so great an increase of the professors of truth, I had a curiosity to examine a little into it, finding most of the old meeting houses very much enlarged, some to hold double, and some treble, and some four times the people that the old ones would on my first going thither, and even now some wanted to be either enlarged, or new ones built at proper distances; besides the account of new houses built in that time, in places where there were none, nor meetings but what were kept in private houses, which grew so numerous, that necessity put them upon erecting houses to accommodate themselves. In New England and Rhode Island are twelve: in the government of New York are six: in both East and West Jersey are nine: in Pennsylvania thirteen: in Maryland four: in Virginia nine; and in North Carolina three. In all there have been fifty-six new meeting houses built within these two or three and twenty years past, and in these provinces there are about ten places more that want where they have none, and as many old ones want to be enlarged, not having room for half the people. Now the extraordinary increase of professors is much to be attributed to the youth retaining the profession of their parents, and marrying such; for indeed most of the people in Pennsylvania are of this profession, as well as in the Jerseys, and Rhode Island, so that young people are not under the

temptation to marry such as are of different judgment, in religion, as in some other parts.

Now being safe returned home, I was diligent in my way, minding my business, and attended public meetings, funerals, &c. until the year 1740, at which time I found a concern to visit some parts of the north, and Ireland, which comes next in course, with respect to both time and place.

CHAPTER V.

His second visit to the North of England and Ireland, in the year 1740.

After having acquainted my friends with what I had in view, requesting, as is usual in the like cases, a certificate from the monthly meeting, which was readily granted, I left my house the first of the third month, 1740, and went to the funeral of an intimate friend, viz., Thomas Cary, of Long-Sutton: and the meeting was very large and satisfactory. Thence I went to Street, and so for Bristol to the yearly meeting, which was attended by many friends, and was very much to satisfaction. I was largely opened, both in the public and select meetings of ministers and elders. Leaving that place I went to Bath, Bradford, Melksham, Chippenham, and Calne in Wiltshire, and had in all these places meetings to good satisfaction, in some more than others. Thence to Newbury, Reading, Wycombe, and Uxbridge, and had meetings at all these places, which were pretty well. Thence to London to the yearly meeting, where I was more particularly enlarged amongst the ministers than I ever had been before in England, which gave me

some apprehension it was to be my last, and when I was taken sick, of which in its place, it seemed to confirm it. I had likewise a very good time in the parting meeting, which confirmed me that I was in my place. From thence I went to Hertford, it was their monthly meeting, and I staid three meetings in that town. Thence to Ware and Royston, and had considerable meetings in both places. Then into Essex to Saffron Walden, Thaxted, and Coggeshall, and had tolerable good times: so to Colchester yearly meeting, which was very large, and I had the company of John Gurney, and Joshua Toft, who both had very eminent service in that meeting.

I was here taken ill with a cold, but had so good a time amongst the ministers, that I thought myself almost cured; but after meeting, riding to Bury, it brought such a fever upon me, that I thought I could not survive it, and this seemed to confirm my former apprehension, from that uncommon enlargement I had amongst the ministers in London, that I should never have another, and this notion grew upon me, adding much to my lowness of spirits. However, I was obliged to tarry a week with my friend John Drewett, at Bury, and his kindness and tenderness over me, in that low, weak condition, was very great and comfortable: he conveyed me to Mildenhall in his chair, but I was very weak, and obliged to stay at Joseph Ellington's one week longer, who was likewise very kind and tender over me.

From thence I went to Brand, and through some part of Norfolk into Lincolnshire, and had very large meetings at Lynn, and at Gainsborough was a great number at a funeral, and meetings at several other places, which were large. I met my dear friend Joshua Toft, at Lynn, and he was with me at Gedney, and other meetings between that and Gainsborough, and then we parted, and I went into Yorkshire and had sundry large meetings, considering the places, as at Leeds, Rawden, Bradford, Skipton, Settle, and Sedberg (at which last place my mouth was first opened in the ministry); and on first-day to Kendal, and had two large meetings, and then went directly for Whitehaven by Cockermouth, but had no meeting till I came to Dublin, staying in Whitehaven about two hours.

I took shipping the first of the sixth month, 1740, and landed safely at Dublin, on the fourth. I staid there two first-days, being under some disorder; and from thence I went to Drogheda and Munallen, where I was very particular about the call and qualifications of true gospel ministers, shewing that wicked men could not be such. Thence to Lurgan, and had satisfactory opportunities, Michael Lightfoot being there at the same time. From thence to one meeting between that and Lisburn, and so I went to the north, as far as Balluarrey, and then returned back to Toberhead, Old Castle, Coothill, visiting meetings on

that side to Limerick, and so to Clonmel, Youghal, and to Cork to the province meeting, and back to Waterford to a province quarterly meeting at Mountmelick, visiting the meetings round as I went to Montrath, Edenderry, and so to Dublin to a marriage, where for some time I had very hard work, but it ended very well. From thence I went into the county of Wicklow, and round by Carlow, visiting the meetings round to the national half-year's meeting at Dublin, about the eleventh of the ninth month.

I found in that nation a brave, zealous and living people in the root of true religion and discipline, or church government, well qualified with experience in divine wisdom; but there were also some who seemed very perfect in the form, and appeared to the outward very exact and zealous against pride and worldly customs, but for all that, the inside was not right, so that I found often very close exercise amongst them, in warning them against the leaven of the Pharisees, which was equally, if not more, hurtful to religion than that of the publicans; and in some places, shewing that it was needful to be good examples in plainness of speech, as well as apparel, which many had deviated from; but nevertheless such there were, who though plain, and otherwise strict, were too much taken up with the world, and the riches of it, making haste to increase

their substance, which was a very great hindrance to their growth in the life of religion, and made them dwarfish therein; setting forth that a form without life, whether by education or otherwise, would not avail; also warning the ministers in the exercise of their gifts to keep the spirit, and mind carefully their openings, and not to preach the letter under a pretence of preaching the spirit, and so instead of ministering life, minister death to the people. In the main, I had great comfort, and many very good opportunities.

I left that nation full of peace in my own mind, being glad that I went thither. I was at eighty-two or eighty-three meetings in it, and took shipping the 19th of the ninth month, 1740, in company with my dear friend Michael Lightfoot, for Workington, and was but twenty-four hours on the water; it was a rough though very quick passage; my friend was very sick, and so also was I, but not to the degree that he was. We hired horses to go to Whitehaven, it being about six or seven miles, and staid there till next day, it being first-day, and had two meetings, the last being very large. I visited all the meetings in and about Cockermouth, and Pardsay, many of which were very large, and then by Keswick to Hawkshead, where I was much comforted, being at friend Lancaster's house at Colthouse, and had two meetings there, which were very full.

Thence I went to Kendal, had no meeting, but next morning went to Sedberg to the general meeting, which was small, by reason of a deep snow and very hard weather. Thence to Preston-Patrick, and back to Kendal, but had no meeting. Thence to Crook, and had a small meeting, then back to Kendal to their week-day meeting, where there was a funeral. Thence I went to Shap, but it was very bad travelling by reason of the snow and frost. Thence to Cumberland quarterly meeting, by Carlisle and Moorhouse to Wigton, where it was held; and considering the season, it was very large, holding two days. At a meeting of ministers and elders, held in the evening, I was pretty much enlarged, as well as at the other meetings. I then returned back to Penrith, being accompanied by my friend, Rowland Wilson, this journey, who was of great service to me; and my friend, John Wilson, and his intended son-in-law, met me at Penrith, where we had a very large evening meeting, to very good satisfaction. The dissenting teacher, with many of his hearers were there, and it was very well. Thence to Teril, and to the monthly meeting at Great Strickland, and so by Shap to Kendal, where I was at three meetings, besides the quarterly meeting, and the meeting of ministers, all very large and satisfactory; and the weather was now much warmer. I took my friend, John Wilson's house, for home, at Kendal, and James Wilson's at Sedberg, staid their

first day meeting, and had an exceedingly large meeting in the evening. That meeting, with Cockermouth and Whitehaven, were three of the largest meetings I had in the north that journey. Thence to my old friend Robert Chambers, and to Preston general meeting, and dear James Wilson, and his wife, met me there; it was a pretty large meeting, but I was much shut up in it. After meeting James and John Wilson, with Robert Chambers and sundry others, accompanied me to the quarterly meeting at Lancaster, which began next day, and was very large. These quarterly meetings of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, were three of the largest I remember to have been at, one after the other, in so short a time, and they had an excellent economy in the management of their affairs: but there was no meeting of ministers at this time. It may be said, I think very justly, that these three counties are in a thriving way in the very life of religion and true godliness.

Having received a line from my dear wife, that she was weakly and wanted me to return, prevented my visiting the north, as I had in view, so that from Lancaster I had no meeting till I came to Manchester, where I had two good meetings. Thence to Stockport, Macclesfield, and Leek, and had small meetings at each place. Thence to Birmingham and had two meetings, the last a funeral, pretty large, but not

so edifying as I could have desired it. Thence to Worcester, Gloucester, and Bristol, and had meetings at them all to good satisfaction, especially at Worcester and Bristol.

In this journey I travelled in Ireland (exclusive of the sea) six hundred and seventy eight miles, and in England, before and after my return from Ireland nine hundred and thirty, which in all is sixteen hundred and eight miles, and except my illness at Bury I had my health as well as I could expect, being humbly thankful that I was so strengthened both inwardly and outwardly to accomplish my journey so well, not having, that I remember, left any thing undone in that nation, save something I had to say in the men's meeting in Dublin, but their hasty breaking up prevented it. This gave me uneasiness for some weeks after, and I remark it here for a caution to others; for I missed such an opportunity as I could never more expect to have, and this added to my uneasiness. Thus I saw that my fear of breaking in upon the meeting, and hindering their business, made me lose my time, so that I came off with a burden upon my mind.

CHAPTER VI.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS TRAVELS IN THE MINISTRY, AFTER THE DECEASE OF HIS WIFE, WHO DIED THE SIXTH OF THIRD MONTH, 1746.

I SET out from my house the 27th of the fourth month, 1746, towards the quarterly meeting at Liskeard in Cornwall, which in that county and Devonshire, are usually called yearly meetings, and had two small meetings in the way, viz. at Collumpton and Oakhampton; thence to Launceston, where we had a very large meeting, the place considered, the people being very sober and attentive, and the doctrine of the gospel flowed freely to them; I was much comforted with that meeting. Thence to Liskeard to the quarterly meeting, which in consequence of the inclemency of the weather, was smaller than usual, there being few besides friends, but things were tolerably well; and from thence to Plymouth. Friends of both counties attend these two meetings. After which I had a meeting in the evening at a parish, where I think but one family of friends dwelt; we had a tolerably good meeting, and many people came to it.

Thence to Kingsbridge, and so for Exeter and was at their week-day meeting, but had nothing to say; so by Collumpton to Chard, and then home, where I staid until it was time to set out for the yearly meeting in Gloucestershire, held at Hampton Road, which being well supplied by sundry able ministers attending, it was thought to be of good service.

I returned to Bath, Frome, and Shipton Mallet, had three meetings at Bath, one at Frome, and one at Shipton, all to very good satisfaction, and then home, where I staid some time; but finding the constraint of love to visit London, I waited to be clearly satisfied in the undertaking, and was not easy to go till the 20th of the 11th month.

I went by Bristol, and the meetings were very large; I staid two first days, and had very good satisfaction in being there. Then I went for London through Wiltshire, and had a tolerably satisfactory opportunity in the evening at Chippenham, where sundry strangers came in; next to Calne, and had a meeting there also, but not quite so satisfactory; thence to Marlborough, and had a very open time, many neighbours came who were very sober and attentive. I then passed on to Newbury and had a small meeting; thence to Reading and was there on first-day both morning and afternoon, and had good satisfaction; thence to Maidenhead, where sundry friends from London met me; from thence I went to a

meeting at Uxbridge, appointed for Hannah Harris; then proceeded to London, and was in town four weeks. In five first days I visited all the meetings, and some of them several times over, and had sometimes great satisfaction and comfort, but at other times I was very low, and under great poverty of spirit; the first days were hard service: the evening meetings at Gracechurch Street were very open, and the gospel flowed to them very plentifully, at which meetings a vast variety of hearers frequented, of different states and professions, but the fountain being opened, there was a supply suitable to their conditions.

After I was clear of the city, sundry friends accompanied me to Esher, where we had a small but pretty open meeting; thence to Guildford, where we had a very small and poor meeting. I queried, why they did not give their neighbours notice; to which they answered, they did not use to do it. There is a great remissness amongst our people in this respect, for if they were diligent, and desirous to have the company of their neighbours, where the minister is so concerned, it might be of great service to them. I went from thence to Godalming, where we had a very large and open meeting; thence to Alton, and had two very agreeable meetings; so to Winchester, where were but few friends; then to Romsey, and had a small meeting; so to Ringwood week-day meeting, which was small, but pretty well; thence to Poole, and had

a meeting or two there, and then home. I felt thankful that I succeeded so well, both as to health and ability of mind, getting home about the middle of the second month, 1747.

I now visited the meetings in the neighbourhood, until the 9th of the third month, 1747, and on that day took my journey towards Bristol yearly meeting, and I had but one meeting between home and Bristol; the meeting there was very large and satisfactory. From thence to the quarterly meeting for Gloucestershire, which was held at Thornbury, and I had a very satisfactory time there. Thence I went to Nailsworth, was taken unwell in the night, but went to meeting although not very fit for it. My dear friend Richard Champion came there, and I went with him to his house, which made me think, by the respect and kindness he shewed, that he was an excellent sympathizing friend in affliction, for he soon, for my encouragement said, he would go to Worcester with me, for the meetings were appointed so far; and my worthy friend went with me thither.

I was bravely recovered by the time I got to Worcester, having only Cheltenham and Tewksbury meetings between that and Nailsworth. I was at Worcester on first day at three meetings, and had good satisfaction and peace in them. I went thence to Bromsgrove, and had a small meeting comfortable and well; thence to Birmingham, where I staid the

seventh day, and went to Coventry on first day, and was at two meetings there, which were open and well, but the latter more so than the first. From thence to Hinkley, Leicester, Castle Donnington, and to Nottingham on first day, where I was at their two meetings, but few besides our own professors were there. The meetings were tolerably well. I had not very agreeable service, to my own apprehension, in some of the above meetings, though some friends thought my doctrine suitable to their states, and that is the chief end which we ought to aim at. From thence I went to Mansfield, and had a very full meeting at a funeral, with which I had great comfort and peace. Thence to Chesterfield, Sheffield, and Warnsworth, and had tolerably good opportunities; thence to Rawcliff, and to York quarterly meeting, where I had good service.

From York I went into Holderness by Thorn, Ithethey, Malton, Cranswick, and Beverley, where was a monthly meeting, which was, I hope, serviceable, being a large gathering of both friends and other people of different persuasions; thence to Hull, Welick, Oustwick, Hornsey, and Burlington; at Oustwick was a very large meeting, the others but small, but not to complain of. Thence to Scarborough, where I staid a full week, and was at two first-day's meetings, which were both large and comfortable. I had seven meetings in that place to good satisfaction. Then I had a small meeting at Stanton-

dale, and so to Whitby, and had three meetings there, but they were laborious, being pretty hard to get through. Thence to Moorsam and to Castleton, where I had a small meeting; it being harvest time many friends could not attend. From thence to Kirby Moorside, and lodged with my dear and worthy friend John Richardson at Hutton in the Hole, and was at a very large meeting at Pickering, called a yearly meeting, but it did not answer expectation, many of the people who were not friends, coming to it as to a revel, and would afterwards get drunk before they went home, which gave friends much uneasiness, and room to consider, whether it were better to continue it or not.

I returned to my old worthy friend John Richardson, whose conversation and company were very agreeable and profitable; thence to Kirby, and had a very comfortable meeting; so to Bilsdale, Yeaton, Stockton, and Yarm, had small meetings, but pretty open and edifying. At Yarm, my friend Thomas Couldwell of Darlington, and my worthy friend James Wilson and his dear wife met me. Thomas Couldwell was their son-in-law, and had a few words in meetings to good satisfaction; he was an innocent reputable man, both in ministry and conduct.

James Wilson went with me through the county of Durham, where we visited most of the meetings to Newcastle; from thence we went into Allendale, and had a pretty large gathering of friends, the monthly

meeting being there, and their business was well conducted, and the affairs carried on to edification and comfort. From thence to Alstone Moor, had a pretty large meeting, and a comfortable opportunity, it being monthly meeting also. From thence to Cornwood, which was pretty full, and I had an agreeable time. There being here some convincement, I was opened to shew the difference between a true and false ministry, demonstrating the qualifications of each, that they might judge, whether a spiritual qualification, which sanctifies and purifies the conscience, fitting it for the receiving the knowledge of the divine will, by inspiration of the Holy Spirit, or a human qualification by literature and books, with what they call ordination, too often without the sanctification of the heart by the word of truth, was most likely to advance the work of true religion.

From this place we went into Cumberland; but after the first meeting James Wilson went home to look after his affairs, it being harvest time; but I visited Cumberland pretty thoroughly, and was at Moorhouse meeting, and so to Coldbeck, but was taken so ill there, that I could not attend that meeting; from thence I went to Ithil and Cockermouth, Pardsay and Whitehaven, but I was very weak and low in my spirit, which rendered me very unfit for service. I was at Workington on first day, and had

a very large and open meeting, so that I was finely recruited, and gathered strength both inwardly and outwardly. From thence I went to Broughton, Allonby, and to Holme, where was a troublesome woman, in whom the spirit which influenced the Pearsons was very strong; she gave some disturbance, especially to John Urwin, but nobody said anything to her; and after I had spoken some time, and concluded, she stood up and expressed something to this effect,—"Here are a great many fine words put well together, but where is the life?" In meetings she would often cast forth reproaches and reflections on ministers, both of the same county and also strangers. From Holme we went round to Wigton, and I staid there over first day, but John Urwin left me; I had two very edifying meetings. From thence I went to Moorhouse, and had a tolerable good meeting, and so to the quarterly meeting at Carlisle, which was very large, and I had good satisfaction both in the meetings of business, and the meetings of ministers, to my great comfort. These meetings very much restored me, for I had been very low and weak with the disorder I took at Coldbeck, but my friend John Urwin was of singular good service to me.

In the visit from Carlisle to Penrith, I went with my friend John Wilson and his brother Crewdson, who were so kind as to meet me at Carlisle, and we

had a very large, good, open meeting, and I doubt not, the power of truth was eminently felt that day by some. From thence I went to Great Strickland monthly meeting for discipline, and to Shap, and had some service, although I was dejected and low. And always when I was in that condition, I endeavoured in secret to be still, waiting in patience, with fervent prayer that I might be preserved in the simplicity of the Gospel, to appear just as the truth assisted, carefully guarding against forming any image or likeness from a wrong root, lest I should offend my Master, as Israel did in Moses's absence, by forming to themselves that dumb lifeless idol the calf, to worship after the manner of the Egyptians.

From Shap I went to Kendal, the quarterly meeting for Westmoreland being there; it was very large, and I was much opened in it, having very satisfactory service both to myself and sundry friends. From thence I went to Lancaster to the quarterly meeting for that county, and had there very agreeable service. These three quarterly meetings succeed one another, viz. Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, and are the largest of any I know of in this nation, and falling so in a line, gave me the better opportunity to attend them. I staid at Lancaster over first-day, and had some service there, where were two meetings, and both pretty large. From Lancaster I went to Yelland, and had a small hard meeting; my friend

Robert Chambers and his wife met me here, and I went home with them, and so to Preston meeting next day. It was but small and heavy, my friend Sarah Wilson, James's wife, and some other friends from that side, met me there, with whom I went to Brigflats meeting, which was a fine gathering, and a comfortable time. Thence to Dent's Town, where was a general meeting, which was pretty large and well. Thence to Garsdale, and Ravenstonedale, and had two small meetings which were edifying, although not without some mixture of uneasiness and trouble, chiefly occasioned by unfaithfulness and indolence prevailing in sundry professors, from whom one might expect much better by their appearance, and the places they aimed to fill in the church. Thence to Brigflats meeting on first-day; and their monthly meeting for discipline being on the fourth-day following, I staid there, and all was conducted to edification and comfort. Thence to Grayrigg, a small meeting; so to Crook, where some friends from Windermere met me; it was but a small meeting, and we had but a low, poor time. I came back to Kendal, and was at the first-day meetings,—that in the afternoon was large, and I opened pretty clearly the difference between a natural and a spiritual state, shewing the necessity of the last, in order to qualify for the knowledge of divine things, as that knowledge is not to be attained to by the natural man; we had an edifying and good time.

James Wilson's was my home while at Brigflats, and John Wilson's at Kendal, during my stay there.

I went from Kendal to Bentham, and had a considerable large meeting to satisfaction; thence to Settle, and was at their monthly meeting for discipline; thence to Skipton, and had a small meeting there; and so to Bradford, where I was on first-day, and had pretty good satisfaction. This week gave me a good degree of ease and cheerfulness of mind. Thence to Rawdon, Leeds, Gildersham, and to Bradford monthly meeting, which was very small, chiefly occasioned by the inclemency of the weather, there being very heavy rains and a great flood ; and I returned to Leeds, and so back to Rawdon, and to the monthly meeting at Asquith where I met with dear Benjamin Kidd; the meeting was pretty large, and I think to good purpose. I returned to Leeds on first-day, it being my last and farewell meeting; the widow Horner's house was my home, and in it I had great peace of mind and consolation, though she was at that time under a very trying exercise, which gave her some uneasy thoughts; but considering the great and close trials she had undergone, she bore it with great decency and patience, plainly demonstrating, that she was highly favoured of truth, and always dwelling near it, to the comfort of her family, and all sensible friends who had the opportunity of her desirable and edifying conversation.

I left Leeds and went to Wakefield to a funeral, on which account the meeting was somewhat larger, though it was a very stormy day and much snow fell at that time. John Scott was with me, and we had a tolerable good opportunity. Thence I went to Pontefract, and had a small meeting; it was a deep snow, and very hard frost, which made it very bad travelling. Thence to Warnsworth to the monthly-meeting, where Roger Shackleton met me, and staid with me till after first-day, John Scott being still with me, but Roger then returned home. We went from thence to Blyth in Nottinghamshire, to the funeral of a worthy elder and minister, and had a very large company, who were orderly and sober in their behaviour; thence to Hansworth Woodhouse, and had a small meeting; thence to Sheffield, and had two large meetings there to pretty good satisfaction. I stopped one night at my friend Peter Aclam's at Cutthorpe, and then I went to Chesterfield, and had a small meeting there, and so to Mansfield, and had another small one; thence to Nottingham week-day meeting, and so to Leicester on first-day; here John Scott left me. The morning meeting was but small, but that in the afternoon was much larger, and both were to pretty good satisfaction. I was at two or three small meetings in the county, and then I came back to the quarterly meeting at Leicester, where I had a satisfactory time before the business came on, which was conducted with prudence and love.

From Leicester I went to a general monthly meeting, in a parish called Wigston-two-steeples on first-day, where the meeting was pretty large, and to good satisfaction; and that evening came back to a meeting at Leicester, Benjamin Holme being there also, and the meeting was well and comfortable. Thence to Hinkley, and had a comfortable time, and so to Nuneaton, and had a very large meeting, which I hope was to good purpose: then to Coventry week-day meeting, and to Atherstone; these meetings were of some service but not large. Thence to Warwick on first-day, and had an evening meeting the third-day following, which were all comfortable opportunities. Thence to Henley and had a small evening meeting; but friends were too negligent in acquainting their neighbours, for which I had cause to blame them in several places. From thence I went to Birmingham, and was at their sixth-day meeting, which was small; I staid over first-day, and had two meetings to pretty good satisfaction, and I was comforted: the fourth-day following I was at their monthly meeting, which was well conducted, and I had an edifying time in it to the elders, to keep their places as watchmen over the youth, and to be good examples, and to take care the poor were not neglected, but assisted in due season. From thence I went to Stourbridge and Bewdley; at Stourbridge we had a fine large meeting, sundry people came in, besides friends, and it was of

good service. From Bewdley I went to Worcester on first-day; the morning meeting was small and heavy, but that in the afternoon was large and more open. From thence to Tewksbury, and had a very open, good, edifying opportunity, though but a small meeting; thence to Cheltenham, where, although I requested notice might be given, it was neglected, and the meeting was very small: from thence to Painswick, where I much pressed notice might be given to their neighbours. I likewise gave several notices of the meeting myself, desiring them to acquaint others of it, and by this means we had a large and open meeting; I hope it was of good service to some, they being very sober and attentive. From thence to Nailsworth, and although it was a very considerable meeting, if not the largest in the county, it was very small, yet we had a comfortable time together. Thence I went to Thornbury on first-day to a funeral, which was very large and open; from thence to Bristol, and was at the third and sixth-day meetings, and on first-day at two meetings, which were all well and comfortable; thence back to Thornbury to the funeral of a worthy elder, Thomas Ally; he was much respected, which his neighbours manifested by giving their attendance at the meeting, which made it very large; and many divine truths were opened, which appeared to satisfaction, there being teachers of sundry professions, who were very

attentive. Thence to Frenchay, a small meeting, and and so to Bristol. I was at the sixth day meeting, and at a funeral in Temple street, where many of the people called methodists came. I staid over first-day, and had two meetings, being edified in both, but the last in the Temple street rather exceeded. From thence I came to Dassil near Shipton Mallet, and had a very satisfactory meeting at Roscombe, about a mile from Dassil, where sundry baptists, methodists, and other dissenters came, being all very sober and attentive; and indeed what much contributed to enlarge the number was, that the baptist teacher gave notice both to his own people and the inhabitants of the place, and gave his attendance himself; and after meeting he came to the friend's house, where we dined, and desired a little conversation, which was readily complied with. This gave some reason to think he intended to object, but it proved to the contrary, for he was too much abounding in his praise, commending what he had heard more than I approved of, wanting to know, whether I had not studied that sermon (as he called it) before I came there. My answer to it was, "I knew not when I came there, whether I should have any thing to say or not, so far I was from having any thing provided before hand." He said it was a very good sermon, and very suitable for them who heard it. He was very loving, and so we parted.

From Roscombe I came to Long Sutton, and had a small meeting; thence to Sherborne meeting, the smallest I ever was at, or had in that place, and to but little satisfaction; the smallness of the number was much owing to the want of notice to the town's people. From thence to a funeral at Yeovil, of an ancient woman of ninety-five and upwards; a large company of neighbours attended the corpse, and we had a good time, the people being very serious, and seemed edified with what was spoken. From thence I came home, it being the 16th of the twelfth month, 1747.

I staid at home, and visited the neighbouring meetings until the 2nd of the third month, 1748, and then went towards Bristol yearly meeting, but had no meeting till I came there, except the monthly meeting for the north division of the county of Somerset, and though it was very small, the affairs thereof were conducted with prudence and judgment. Thence to Bristol yearly meeting, which was to general satisfaction.

From Bristol I went to Bath, and had a small meeting, and so to Pickwick; I had a small meeting at Corsham, and then went to Bradford on first-day; the morning meeting was small, but pretty open, that in the afternoon was very large, and I was concerned to distinguish between the theory and the practical part of true religion, and many of the

people called methodists being there, were very attentive, and all was quiet and ended well. Thence I went back to Pickwick to the men's monthly meeting, and the adjourned quarterly meeting for the county; it was very small, which manifested too much neglect amonst the elders of the society there for the service of these meetings. From thence I came to Devizes, Melksham, and Market Lavington, and had a meeting at each place, which were pretty comfortable; so to Salisbury on first-day, and had two large meetings there. A great many methodists came to both meetings, and were in their appearance and behaviour very agreeable; several were partly convinced, and constantly attended meetings. I had very suitable doctrine to their unsettled states, and seeking conditions, for they seemed to be enquiring the way to the kingdom, with their faces thitherwards; and I hope there will be an increase in that place to our society.

From Salisbury I went to Alton, and had but one small meeting there, and so for London to the yearly meeting, which was very large, and many hopeful young people of both sexes attended it, who seemed very likely to come up in the places of the faithful already gone, and going to their long homes, and my heart rejoiced to see and find in them a right concern for the cause of the gospel, and zeal to keep up the testimony their parents joyfully suffered for.

We had several acceptable and edifying times, and the affairs of the meeting were conducted in great love and condescension, and ended well. The last or concluding meeting was very large, and the only one I had a particular concern for before I left home, but I was almost shut out, being so narrowed up for time by those who appeared before me, that it seemed quite unseasonable and dangerous to hold the meeting longer, and not likely to comport with the health of the people, but yet my age and infirmity considered, and it appearing doubtful whether I might have the like opportunity, and, being pressed in spirit thereto, I stood up under great fear and weakness, but I was immediately strengthened by the good word of life, through which I was helped, and came off beyond my expectation, being afterwards filled with divine peace and consolation, which confirmed me that I was in my place and duty.

I staid in London over first-day, but had no service in public ministry, except at the morning meeting of ministers on second-day, where I was very much drawn forth to the ministers, the meeting being very large with country friends, and I was much comforted in that meeting. Next morning I went, with my worthy friend Samuel Waring, by Esher to Alton, and staid their first-day meeting, and a meeting at Great Fraile, and staid the monthly meeting at Alton, which was comfortable and well, although not much

appearance of service. From thence I went to Rumsey, but was taken very ill on the road, and was very much fatigued, but next day was bravely recovered, and had a small meeting with the two families, which was very comfortable. Thence to Ringwood on first-day, and had two open meetings; the next day was their quarterly meeting, where their affairs were well conducted. The day following was the yearly meeting of the two counties of Southampton and Dorset, pretty large, both in the forenoon and afternoon, and were, to all appearance, of good service. Thence to Poole, to the quarterly meeting of Dorsetshire; I staid there over first-day, and had two pretty full meetings, especially the last, which was very large and open; many divine truths were clearly and plainly declared to the people, who, by their stillness and attention, manifested a good disposition to hear, and be informed. I staid the fourth-day, and then came home the last day of the fifth month, 1748.

CHAPTER VII.

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO BRISTOL YEARLY MEETING, AND HIS JOURNEY TO LONDON, NORWICH, &C., IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY.

I left home the 17th of 2nd month, 1749, and had one meeting at Croscoume or Coscoome, near Shipton Mallet, to good satisfaction. Thence to Bristol, and staid the yearly meeting, where I had some very agreeable opportunities, both in the select and public meetings. Being clear of that place, I proceeded by Chippenham, Calne, and Marlborough, and had a meeting in each place. Thence to Newbury, being first day, and had two meetings, the last pretty large and agreeable. Thence to Reading, Henley, Wickham, and Uxbridge, had but small meetings, though satisfactory opportunities at each place. From Uxbridge I went to London, and had sundry very acceptable times in the select meeting of ministers, and was largely opened in the public meetings, and I found my concern to grow upon me. But when I was clear I left London, in company with John Wilson of Kendal, who went to visit his wife, who had received some hurt by a fall from her horse near Billericay in Essex; she lodged at a friend's house in a parish called Stock, and I lodged at my friend Samuel

Arnold's country house. We found John's wife finely recovered, and we rode together next day to Colchester, being the 27th of the third month, the yearly meeting beginning next day, and the quarterly meeting for the county the day following, and the select meeting of ministers on the morning of the third day of the week, which appeared to me but of little advantage. The public meetings however were both very large and edifying, and ended well, and to good satisfaction. Thence to Manningtree, and had a small meeting, and so to Ipswich, and was at their weekly meeting in company with Jane Hoskins (formerly Fenn) and Elizabeth Hudson, both from Pennsylvania, who had agreeable service amongst friends. I staid in Ipswich over the first-day, and the last meeting was very large, being appointed about the fourth hour in the afternoon, and many of sundry professions were there, and were very attentive and sober, and some very much affected and broken into tears, so that I hope that meeting was of service to many. I was largely opened on the subject of working out our own salvation, and the means whereby it is attainable.

From Ipswich, I went to Woodbridge, it being the quarterly meeting for the county of Suffolk, and there being some uneasiness amongst them, friends were concerned to advise them to a reconciliation, lest, by continuing in their uneasiness, they should

be wounded by a breach of union and affection. The meeting, by adjournment, held all day, and friends seemed in a tolerable sweetness and condescension one to another, though a party contentious spirit, had too much got in among them. Next morning was a meeting of ministers, to good satisfaction; and then the yearly meetings of worship followed, which were exceedingly large, and the parting meeting the day following. They were all very much to satisfaction. In the parting meeting I was much enlarged on the progressive advancement in a living and saving faith, which is the very life of true religion; and we had a small meeting the day following, being their weekly meeting. Then I went to Brandon, Edmund Peckover being with me, and he had very good service, and the meeting ended well. Then I went back to Woodbridge, and staid over first-day, but there were very few besides friends, though it was expected the last meeting would have been large, but for want of notice it was not. Thence to Layston and Peasen Hall, and Beccles, and had a small meeting at each place, but to tolerable satisfaction; thence to Mutford and Pakefield, and had as large meetings as the accommodation would permit; what was chiefly required, was room for the people in both places. Thence to Yarmouth, and had a pretty large meeting to edification; thence to North Walsham, and had a small meeting to little purpose; thence to Norwich

yearly meeting, which was very large. I was enlarged on the qualifications of true ministers, shewing, that without the divine aid of the spirit of truth, that work could not be rightly performed to the edification of the hearers.

From Norwich I went to Lammas general meeting, which was very large, too much for the house to contain, but the people were very quiet; thence back to Norwich, staid there the week day and first-day meetings following, where I had ten meetings, though in two of them I had nothing to say, and the meetings were mostly very large and to good purpose, being full enough for my natural strength to go through with. But thankful and glad I was, finding inward strength and assistance every day to help me through so well, to my own comfort and his praise, who is God blessed for ever; and he has given me faith to believe, that so long as he engages my mind in the work of the ministry, he will give a fresh supply of strength, both inward and outward, adequate to his requirings. From Norwich I came to Mattishal, Windham and Teasborough, and had a meeting at each place,—the last was enlarged considerably with friends from Norwich. Things were middling, no cause of complaint; but I was under great poverty of spirit in these small meetings; thence to Diss to a general meeting; friends from Norwich and other distant places came in and at-

tended us, that it laid me very low indeed; but I saw in the opening of divine virtue, that as the blessing of Christ my master, upon a small quantity of but plain and low food, gave satisfaction to a multitude, more than we were likely to be, so I found it best to retire to my gift, and be still. The meeting was very large, quiet, and well, and I was concerned to set forth the folly and emptiness of all forms of religion, without the virtue and power of the spirit of Christ, and was opened on this subject very largely, much to my own satisfaction, all being quiet and well. Thence to Bardwell, and had a small meeting, which was pretty well; thence to Bury, and so to Rattlesdon. I had three meetings at Bury, and one at the other place, all to pretty good satisfaction.

From Rattlesdon I went to Walden, Royston, and Baldock, and so to Hitchin, but had but low times in all these last meetings; thence to Hertford and Ware, and had tolerable good satisfaction in both places; thence to Bishop Stortford and Dunmow, and had a small meeting at each place; and so to Chelmsford on first day; things were well and comfortable. Thence to Billericay, and had a small meeting, and then went with my friend Samuel Arnold to his house, in a parish called Stock, and staid some days, and then came with him to London, being the 20th of the 6th month, 1749.

I staid in town several weeks, and my concern grew upon me, and being filled with gospel virtue, I had some very agreeable service, visiting all the meetings in the city, some three or four times over, and the first-day meetings were very full, but the week day meetings were small.

Finding myself easy and clear of the town, I left it in great peace, on the 3rd of the eighth month, 1749, and came to Esher to a small meeting, so to Guildford, Godalming, and Alton, Basingstoke, Baghurst, and Andover, and had some very agreeable times, and in the main, was pretty well satisfied. Thence to Salisbury, and had a very full meeting, sundry methodists being there; so to Fordingbridge, and was at a funeral, where many people attended; I had good satisfaction in being there, and left the place in much comfort and inward peace. Thence to Ringwood, and had a pretty large evening meeting to good satisfaction. Thence to Poole, and so to Weymouth, and had opportunities in both places; and from thence I came home, being the 2nd of the ninth month, 1749.

From this time it does not appear that our dear friend kept any account of the meetings he attended,

but upon application to his monthly meeting, they furnished the following brief testimony of his service, from the time at which his journal concludes, to his decease :—

From our monthly meeting held at Bridport, the 21st of the ninth month, 1755, to Friends at their second-day's morning meeting in London.

DEAR FRIENDS AND BRETHREN,

The journal of our dear and worthy friend Samuel Bownas seems to break off somewhat abruptly, ending the 2nd of the ninth month, 1749, and we cannot find that he kept any account of his travels, labours and services in the ministry, from that time, to the time of his decease, which was on the second day of the fourth month, 1753, during which time he took no long journeys; for being advanced in years, his hands shook and eye-sight failed him much, but he was very diligent in attending meetings both at home and in the neighbourhood, for twenty or thirty miles round, as long as his health and strength continued; and his ministry was lively and powerful to the last, to the edification and comfort of those that were favoured with it, and his removal was a great loss to friends in these parts. But we have reason to believe it was his great gain, for in his last illness, which

was very short, he seemed quite sensible of his approaching change, saying, that he could not stay long with us, and hoped that kind Providence would be pleased to take him to himself.

Signed in and on behalf of the said meeting, by

JOSEPH CURTIS,
ROBERT CURTIS,
THO. WESTCOMBE,
WILLIAM KENWAY,
JOSEPH HUTCHINS.

FINIS.

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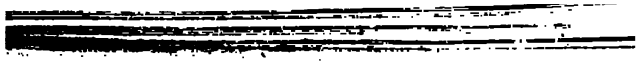

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